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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1171



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14 September 1981

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

Table of Contents From 'MEMO' No 6, 1981 (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 6, 1981).....	1
Krasin Addresses Problems of Unity in Communist Movement (Yu. Krasin; MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Jun 81).....	3
Tasks of National Liberation Movement Outlined (K. Maydanik, G. Mirskiy; MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Jun 81).....	12
Summaries of Articles in 'MEMO' Journal (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Jun 81).....	28
West's Use of Anti-Soviet Emigration Attacked (A. Afanas'yev; GOLOS RODINY, Jul 81).....	32
Tasks of New All-Union Association of Oriental Studies, Primakov Speech (A. P. Bazilyants; NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 2, 1981).....	36
Manchukha on Struggle of African Communist Parties (P. I. Manchukha; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, Jun 81).....	41
Azerbaijani-Jordanian Religious Ties Stressed (S. Geraybekov; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 15 Aug 81).....	51
Briefs International Camp of Zakataly	54

NATIONAL

Legal Status, Subordination of Agro-Industrial Associations	
Need Definition	
(P. Yermakov; KHOZYAYSTVO I PRAVO, Jun 81).....	55
Supply and Demand Proper Way To Regulate Kolkhoz Market Prices	
(KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 7 Aug 81).....	61
Farms' Main Operations Displace Subsidiary Enterprises	
(V. Somov; PRAVDA, 24 Jul 81).....	63

REGIONAL

Azerbaijan Government Discusses Economic Issues	
(BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 18 Jul 81).....	66
Riga Law Enforcement Problems	
(Ye. Tishchenko; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 12 Jul 81).....	69
Ecology Problems in Pavlodar-Ekibastuz TPK Development Reviewed	
(Ye. V. Gvozdev; VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR, Jun 81).	72
Tajik Komsomol Misleads Workers on Jobs in Rostov	
(V. Merkulov; KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 4 Aug 81).....	77
Study of Public Opinion, Sociological Research Issues	
(VYSHKA, 13 Aug 81).....	80
Complaints About Low Quality, High Prices of Fruit	
(V. Neiburg; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 1 Aug 81).....	81
Problems With Getting Produce From Field to Market	
(Yu. Slashchinin; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 4 Aug 81).....	83
Article Views Dangers, Successes of Private Plots in Lithuania	
(T. Doval'; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 14 Jul 81).....	86
Russian Language -- A Necessity for Educated Estonians	
(Yaak Allmere; MOLODEZH' ESTONII, 10 Mar 81).....	89

INTERNATIONAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS FROM 'MEMO' NO 6, 1981

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6, Jun 81
pp 1-2

[Text] Table of Contents:

Page

Yu. Krasin, "The Main Path of Man's Development"	3
K. Maydanik, G. Mirskiy, "The National Liberation Struggle: the Current Stage"	17
V. Pan'kov, "The Evolution of Social Democracy's Economic Views"	31
V. Zubchaninov, "What Is Curbing Technical Progress in the Capitalist Countries"	45
Yu. Shishkov, "EFTA--Path of Quest and Contradictions"	60
S. Madzoyevskiy, S. Peregudov, Ye. Khesin, "Rightwing Conservatives in Power"	73
B. Dobrovinskiy, "Labor Productivity Development Trends in Japan"	86
Domestic Political Life Abroad	
I. Lebedev, "The Political Climate of the Fifth Continent"	98
From the Foreign Press	
A. Kudryavtsev, "Survey of French Economic Literature"	104
Surveys, Information	
S. Ivanov, "Surplus Demand and the Development of Inflation"	111
Ye. Bragina, "International Development Strategy for the 1980's"	118
We Answer Readers' Questions	
L. Vinogradova, "The EEC and the Developing Countries: the Essence of the Lomé Conventions"	125
Books, Authors	
O. Bykov, N. Narochitskaya, "Lenin's Way"	132
V. Knyazhinskiy, "Historic Decisions"	134
A. Irgebayev, "In the Name of Friendship and Cooperation"	136

P. Khvoynik, "Toward New Frontiers of Socialist Integration"	138
V. Shenayev, V. Zaikina, "From the Standpoints of Creative Marxism"	140
V. Lyubimova, "Social Policy Zigzags"	143
V. Nazarevskiy, "Basic Production Component"	147
I. Noskova, "Export of Capital"	148
I. Kuklina, "New Front of the Class Struggle"	150
Yu. Strel'tsov, "The United States: Orgy of Militarism"	152
Yu. Levin, "In the Interests of Capital"	153

Scientific Life

A. Ognev, "The Activity of the Specialized Councils Under the Auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations"	155
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8850

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INTERNATIONAL

KRASIN ADDRESSES PROBLEMS OF UNITY IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6, Jun 81
pp 3-16

[Article by Yu. Krasin: "The Main Path of Man's Development"]

[Excerpts] The basic content of the current world revolutionary process is the transition from capitalism to socialism. It is natural that the Soviet Union--the country which was the first to embark on this path and build a developed socialist society--is at the forward edge of the world's revolutionary renewal. All the main lines of world development face out in one way or another onto the strongest and most developed socialist state.

Real Socialism as a Factor of World Development

The 26th CPSU Congress convincingly underlined with new data and arguments the Marxists' conclusion that socialism is the decisive force of contemporary world development whose impact on world history is increasing from year to year. And it is by no means a question here of the notorious "communist threat" or some "interference" or other of socialism in other countries' internal affairs, which the ideologists of anticommunism repeat over and over again. The magnetic force of socialism for multimillion-strong masses in the capitalist world is connected primarily with the fact that it is realizing in practice the urgent material and spiritual requirements of world social progress.

The congress of the Lenin Party revealed the profound historical import of the creative work of construction in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The time which V.I. Lenin dreamed about has arrived. Socialism is developing today on its own foundation and has reached a mature stage. The truly inexhaustible potential for social progress with which the socialist system provides society are being revealed increasingly distinctly.

It is far from fortuitous that in recent years leading bourgeois ideologists have been conducting a persistent search for attractive alternatives to socialism. A variety of utopian concepts of a "postindustrial society" free of the antagonisms and crises inherent in capitalism are being created. Such cloudless idylls are being counterposed to the practice of real socialism, which, like a magnet, is attracting to itself the minds and imagination of the working people and the progressive public of the nonsocialist part of the world.

The reverse side of these vain efforts to find nonexistent prospects for a society without a future are the attempts to declare socialism utopian.

Analogous ideas sometimes penetrate the communist movement also. We may recall how J. Ellenstein, who has now placed himself outside of the French Communist Party, propagandized a reactionary-utopian "antimodel" of socialism, counterposing it to the actual reality of the socialist society.

As a counterweight to such pseudothoretical constructions, which deprive the social revolution of the present day of a positive goal, the 26th CPSU Congress sketched a multiple-plan picture of the vital activity and development of the real socialist society.

The profound transformations in the economy, social relations and spiritual life of the socialist society described by the congress represent the realization in practice of the ideals and goals of communist teaching.

The economy of socialism is undergoing a period of profound qualitative changes, the point of which is a transition to the path of the intensive development of industry and agriculture. A truly revolutionary restructuring is under way not only in the material-technical base and the production forces of society but also in the production relations and the entire system of management of the economy.

The main conquest of socialism here, which has become a part of its flesh and blood, is subordination of the economy to the goals of satisfaction of the requirements of the broad masses of the people and the interests of the development of the man of the communist society.

Qualitative transformations are also occurring in the sphere of sociopolitical relations. The stages of developed socialism's movement toward the great goal substantiated by Marxism and expressing the age-old dream of all laboring mankind--the classless society--are already coming into view perfectly visibly. The new features are being visibly expressed in the further rapprochement of all classes and groups of Soviet society, their strengthening unity and the even greater cohesion of the new social and international community--the Soviet people. Evaluating these processes, the congress drew an important theoretical conclusion: the coming into being of a classless structure of society will evidently occur by and large within the historical framework of developed socialism.

The material of the 26th CPSU Congress also shows the profound qualitative shifts in a refinement in socialism's political system, the extension of the functions of various public organizations and the development of Soviet socialist democracy providing for the working people's real participation in the solution of state issues.

The entire work of the 26th CPSU Congress, the documents adopted thereat and the speeches of the delegates and guests show in reality to the whole world that socialism today is not a utopia or a dream and not simply an idea expressing the need for the transformation of social relations but the living reality of Soviet society and the result of the revolutionary transformations being effected in our country under the leadership of the Lenin Party.

Socialism long since passed beyond the bounds of one country and has today become a world reality. The development of the socialist community shows how right Lenin was when he said that man's future could not be painted in uniform gray colors. Socialist building in different states is characterized by an unusual richness of forms and methods of popular creativity. Each socialist country has its own valuable finds and achievements supplementing the treasure house of the international experience of world socialism.

The multiformity and heterogeneousness of contemporary world reality is also reflected in the socialist world: it incorporates societies which are at different economic levels and which have far from identical social structures and their own specific national and regional traditions and ties distinguished by uniqueness of culture, frame of mind and mentality. All this engenders and cannot fail to engender a variety of social forms in the countries of the socialist world. The path of the inception and development of socialism as a world reality is not rectilinear. It is attended by the surmounting of a whole number of difficulties.

Together with the natural difficulties of the growth of a new social system obstacles of another kind also arise. Socialism is effecting its forward movement under the conditions of acute class confrontation with imperialism, which is setting in motion an entire system of economic, political, military and ideological resources aimed at subverting the socialist world and "loosening" it. Nor has socialism any guarantee against subjective mistakes and miscalculations, particularly where the social ground exists for rightwing opportunism, petit bourgeois anarchism and nationalism. As China's socioeconomic development shows, distortion of the principles of socialism and the essence of its domestic and international policy lead to the most severe consequences.

Despite all the difficulties and contradictions occurring in certain socialist countries, the main result of the achievement of world socialism is perfectly obvious: the contours of a new international communist civilization are appearing increasingly distinctly in this world.

The growth and strengthening of real socialism are in sharp contrast with the state of the capitalist system, which is experiencing a constantly deepening general crisis. This testifies that capitalism as a type of social relations is historically obsolete. The Western progressive press also is coming to this conclusion increasingly often.

Socialism is proving its superiority to capitalism increasingly distinctly.

In the confrontation of the two systems socialism is winning over increasingly new supporters.

Socialism's continuously growing impact on world development is manifested strikingly in the deepening of socialist trends in the emerging countries. The very possibility of a socialist orientation emerged here thanks to the fundamental change in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism, the effectiveness of its example and its ideological and political influence. The strengthening alliance of the national liberation movement with real socialism has led to profound qualitative changes in the developing world. As observed at the 26th CPSU Congress,

certain emerging countries have opted for a socialist development path. This is a higher stage of a socialist orientation. Revolutionary democracy, which is heading the social transformations, is making a conscious endeavor to build a new society, being guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of real socialism.

Socialism is the gigantic construction site of the new society, the arterial path of the development of the present-day social revolution and the main force opposed to imperialism in the world arena.

Peace and Social Progress

The socialist system's objective need for peaceful conditions of development is organically connected in our day with man's aspiration to a stable peace as an essential prerequisite of social progress.

Expressing the profound concern of the peoples for the fate of our planet and aware of the entire measure of historical responsibility borne in this connection by the international working class, real socialism and the Lenin Party, the 26th CPSU Congress made the struggle for peace the cornerstone of the Soviet state's political tasks in the international arena.

This consistent foreign policy line aimed at the preservation of a most important prerequisite of progress and man's very existence is opposed by another policy, which expresses not even class (the bourgeoisie as a whole is not interested in thermonuclear war since it signifies the ruin of capitalism) but the narrow corporative interests of imperialist reaction, which is prepared for anything for the sake of preserving the profits and influence of the military-industrial complex. The motto of these bellicose forces of imperialism is "there are things which are more important than peace." It is they who are conducting an offensive against detente and whipping up international tension, attempting to revive the "cold war".

While championing peace, Marxists have never painted glowing pictures of rectilinear movement toward the goal. The system of international relations of the current transitional era is of a contradictory nature. Various foreign policy trends expressing the social essence of the socioeconomic systems which coexist in this world intersect and are confrontational in the world arena. For this reason the development of international relations lacks evenness: steps along the path of detente are sometimes replaced by reverse movements engendered by the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Such a "recoil" occurred at the start of the 1980's through the fault of reactionary U.S. circles. Detente has limited the possibilities of imperialism's open interference in the affairs of other peoples, weakened the positions of the military-industrial complex and stimulated the forces of national and social liberation. Without regard for the consequences, the reactionary forces of imperialism again relied on the customary methods of force and pressure. The kindling of military hysteria is being used to wind down social security programs and for an offensive against the positions of the working class and a renunciation of a policy of bourgeois reformism. Attempts are being made to channel both domestic and foreign policy into warding off urgent socioeconomic changes in the nonsocialist part of the world.

Inferior to socialism in competition in the peace sphere, imperialism is again endeavoring to push the socialist countries toward an uncontrolled arms race and divert their resources from the solution of constructive problems. The peaceful economic and social program put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress strikes a palpable blow at these plans. Exposing the fabrications concerning the notorious "Soviet threat," they are mobilizing the world public for the struggle for a reduction in international tension.

Of course, the current whose representatives are attempting a sober interpretation of current reality and to avert an increasing arms race remains in the bourgeois camp also. They reasonably say that the economic and political might of the state, including its national defense, is by no means dependent on a buildup of military muscle.

With the intention of torpedoing detente, aggressive imperialist circles are interpreting it such as to essentially identify detente with the status quo in the development of social relations.

The main goal of imperialist reaction is not peace and detente but the conservation of capitalist practices and preservation of spheres of domination and influence. All social changes represent from this viewpoint a disturbance of the abutments of world order; all actions of the revolutionary forces and the peoples' struggle for liberation are portrayed as "international terrorism". The unbridled propaganda campaign now being conducted in the West under this slogan is designed to justify the principle of club law in international policy confessed by imperialism and to "legalize" its interference in the emerging countries' internal affairs.

Matters have reached the point where certain bourgeois theorists are attempting to prove the just nature of aggressive wars against young independent states if the latter are unwilling to reconcile themselves to the imperialist plunder of their energy and raw material resources. This, you see, violates the "socially fundamental laws" and disorganizes the economy of the imperialist states.

This is nothing other than a kind of indulgence permitting American imperialism to interfere in other countries' internal affairs and employ military force on the pretext of defense of the United States' "vital interests". In today's interdependent world, where any country's economic policy affects the interests of other states in one way or another, such logic would signify the extension to international life of the condition of a "war of all against all". In the nuclear age this would inevitably lead to catastrophe.

There is every reason to believe that the noisy propaganda campaign against "international terrorism" is a kind of prelude to imperialism's more active armed interference in other peoples' affairs. U.S. Administration officials have already openly declared that they are providing direct military support to dictatorial regimes in Latin American countries and bands of mercenaries conducting aggressive operations against the legitimate governments in Angola, Afghanistan and other independent states.

The American "hawks'" absurd and dangerous attempts to halt social progress even at the price of peace are causing objections to be raised by sober-minded representatives of the bourgeoisie. Their sentiments are also reflected in the Western press.

R. Steel's LOS ANGELES TIMES' article of 2 April 1981 is indicative in this respect. It contains, in particular, the following argument which merits attention: "Listen, for example, to R. Pipes, a Harvard professor specializing in a study of the Soviet Union and currently working in the National Security Council under Allen. The USSR will have to choose between a peaceful change of system, he declared to the correspondent, or war. It can be imagined how we would have reacted to a similar ultimatum from some Soviet 'Americanologist'. We would have told him to go to hell. And, furthermore, would have begun to ponder seriously whether he was really contemplating such a war."

For the umpteenth time the aggressive forces of imperialism are attempting to bar the path to social progress. But these attempts are doomed to fail since they are contrary to the objective natural laws of history.

The new peace initiatives presented by the 26th CPSU Congress express the progressive nature of real socialism and represent a continuation of its constructive domestic policy of peaceful building. They creatively develop the Peace Program put forward by the 24th and 24th CPSU congresses, which corresponds to all peoples' cherished aspirations.

This program is realistic and specific in its tasks. Its implementation will create the conditions for man's progressive development and reveal broad vistas of international cooperation in the solution of urgent universal problems.

In the Vanguard of the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

The political vanguard of the international working class, which is at the center of the current era, personifies the subjective factor of the current world revolutionary process and embodies the combination of the theory of scientific communism and the international workers movement. Communists are the conscious political nucleus of the forces struggling for peace and social progress.

Naturally, the 26th CPSU Congress paid great attention to the problems of the present-day communist movement. The material of the congress observes that the political vanguard of the international working class had approached the frontier of the 1980's with confident tread and as an active force in the struggle for the working people's rights and the peace and security of the peoples. The communist movement is expanding its ranks constantly and strengthening its influence in the masses. Communist parties operate selflessly today in 94 countries. Approximately 800,000 new fighters joined the communist parties of West Europe alone in the last decade. All this testifies to the invincible magnetic force of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the progressive development of the world communist movement.

At the same time the political vanguard of the international working class is organically interwoven in the vital fabric of the modern era, which is characterized by the stratification of various socioeconomic formations and the interaction and antagonism of diverse social and political systems and cultures. Such a broad variety of social relations and structures is undoubtedly reflected in the communist movement and expressed in the unevenness of its development in this region and country or the other.

Some communist parties have scored big successes, have accumulated a wealth of experience, possess mature organizing and theoretical personnel and have great influence in the political life of their countries. The achievements of other fraternal parties are less appreciable; and for yet others breaking out of the ring of political isolation and becoming an influential political force still lies ahead. While in certain states, primarily in the former colonial periphery, Marxist-Leninist-type revolutionary parties are as yet only just coming into being. It may be said that the present state of the world communist movement reproduces, as it were, all the main rungs of the historical ladder which it has climbed over a period of many years.

The international communist movement and its internal structure and mutual relations with other social and political forces are also complicated as a consequence of the differentiation of the tasks which have confronted communists of different countries proportionate to the development and extension of the world revolutionary process. The fraternal parties of the socialist states are tackling primarily tasks of the building of a new society. The communist parties of the developed capitalist countries are proceeding in the vanguard of the struggle against monopoly capital and for profound democratic transformations leading to socialist revolution. The communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the young emerging states are endeavoring to do away with the colonial legacy of the past and struggling for a socialist orientation and transition to the path of socialist development. As a whole, the international experience of the communist movement is becoming richer and more multifaceted. But its theoretical interpretation, political assimilation and creative practical application under concrete conditions is becoming an increasingly complex task making increased demands on the movement as a whole and each party individually.

Understandably, the dialectics of the revolutionary process are also reflected in the activity of the communist parties and are giving rise to a number of difficult problems. While being the party of the working class and relying on it primarily, each communist party at the same time takes account of the interests and ideas of other mass revolutionary forces of its country. The enlistment in the revolutionary process of broad new strata of the population is inevitably reflected in the communist movement and influences the composition and positions of the communist parties.

All this means that the formulation of a common viewpoint in such an intricate socio-political organism as the international communist movement is by no means a simple matter. But it is the duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to do everything possible to consolidate the unity of the communist movement and overcome the differences which arise therein.

Operating on national soil, any communist party perceives the world revolutionary process through the prism of its national experience, which leaves an imprint on the party's evaluations and positions and sometimes also complicates the assimilation of the communist movement's international experience in its full volume.

How to avoid such a one-sided approach? This is only possible given a conscious internationalist approach to the development of theory and the formulation of policy and to study of the experience and problems of other communist parties by way of a constant exchange of opinions and ideas with them and given the coordination of viewpoints and certain compromises among the parties.

As the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress observed, the supreme arbiter in the settlement of differences which arise between communist parties is time and practice.

Of course, overcoming differences in the communist movement is closely connected with the ideological struggle on two fronts: against right and left opportunism.

The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out an effective method of overcoming differences in the communist movement. It is not confrontation, which occurs in respect of ideological adversaries, but primarily elucidation of the essence of the differences and the real vital problems behind them. Given such an approach, it is frequently discovered that differences in attitudes do not in fact exist. We may refer, as an example, to the proposition concerning the variety of paths and forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It has sometimes been advanced by the leadership of certain communist parties as an argument in defense of the national specifics of the revolutionary process against the imposition of stereotyped patterns. Upon a calm and patient discussion of the question, as the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress showed, it transpires that no one has advocated or is now advocating some "standardization" of the paths and forms of the transition to socialism and socialist building. V.I. Lenin even spoke repeatedly of their variety. This variety has also been corroborated by the practice of the development of socialist revolutions in many countries. The CPSU and other fraternal parties consistently proceed from this.

The strengthening of international unity--this is the path toward an increase in the vanguard role of the international communist movement in the world revolutionary process and its performance of its historic mission of political vanguard of the era's foremost class.

Factors prompting the communist parties to united actions are operating with increasingly great force in the development of the communist movement at the current stage.

First, the significance of the international tasks which are common for all communist parties, primarily of the struggle for peace, increases with every successive year. Under whatever conditions the communist parties operate, they are convinced by their own experience that defense of the cause of peace and the relaxation of international tension represents the key strategic goal of the entire communist movement with which all other areas of its activity are closely interwoven.

Second, the development of the revolutionary process in different countries, particularly when it reaches the culminating point and develops into a revolutionary crisis, confronts the communists, despite essential differences in the situation, with similar problems of a general nature connected with the working class' acquisition of power and its exercise of political domination, pursuit of a revolutionary economic policy, defense of the revolution and so forth.

Third, the integration processes in the world capitalist economy, the activity of the multinational corporations, the attempts to stimulate the political integration of the bourgeois states and imperialist military-political blocs' direct interference in other countries' internal affairs demand of the working class and the

communist parties a strengthening of international solidarity as an essential condition of the successful accomplishment of the tasks of internal revolutionary transformations. In our day the development of any national revolution is inconceivable in isolation from the general correlation of forces in the world and the dynamics of the entire system of international relations.

The unity of the communist movement also creates favorable conditions for the broader unification of the working people and left and democratic organizations. This question also was raised in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress. The report observes that, given the present complication of the international situation, "we regard as important cooperation with the social democrats, trade unions, religious circles and all democratic and peace-loving forces in questions of the prevention of war and the strengthening of peace."

The struggle for the unity of the left and democratic forces is a principle of the policy which ensues from the fundamentals of a Marxist world outlook. According to Marxist-Leninist theory, the worker class is the spokesman for the fundamental interests of all working people and a consistent fighter for social progress and democracy and against all forms of oppression and reaction. Proceeding from this, the political vanguard of the working class--the communists--are guided in their activity by the strategy of broad class and political alliances. Emphatically rejecting sectarianism, they aspire to the unification of all anti-imperialist forces.

The communists are building their relations with other democratic parties and organizations on the basis of democratic principles and standards, respecting the independence and distinctiveness of their allies. But the communists themselves also preserve their political, ideological and organizational independence as the revolutionary vanguard of the era's foremost class.

The circle of anti-imperialist forces has widened considerably in our time, and their numbers and diversity have increased. The need for these forces' broad international solidarity is perceived increasingly keenly with every successive year. The consolidation of the revolutionary parties of the working class is also needed to an even greater extent than hitherto to ensure that they not be an amorphous conglomerate of heterogeneous social groups but an efficient alliance with a precise anti-imperialist thrust. It is this which is a factor of the efficacy and progressive nature of the broad alliance of anti-imperialist forces. Proletarian internationalism is the firm foundation and cementing nucleus of broader and more diverse international solidarity.

The 26th CPSU Congress provided a broad and multifaceted panorama of the modern world revolutionary process with all its achievements and difficulties. It is a far from idyllic picture. The birth and development of communist civilization is taking place in the most acute struggle. But the closer the world is to the frontier of the 21st century, the more obvious the correctness of the communists: mankind has no other path ahead than the path toward socialism.

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INTERNATIONAL

TASKS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OUTLINED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6, Jun 81
pp 17-30

[Article by K. Maydanik and G. Mirskiy: "The National Liberation Struggle: the Current Stage"]

[Text] From the editors: the intricacy and complexity of the socioeconomic and political development of the countries liberated from colonialism confront Soviet scholars studying problems of the revolutionary process in the world of young states with a whole number of questions.

As the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized, the scholars are required to interpret everything which is occurring and collate the new phenomena of life. The editorial office intends in publishing the article by K. Maydanik and G. Mirskiy to continue discussion in the journal of the theoretical problems of the present-day national liberation movement and the paths and methods of the struggle of the peoples of the former colonies and semicolonies for national liberation and social progress for the purpose of a comprehensive study of the questions raised by life itself.

Instead of colonies and semicolonies, dozens of new independent states have appeared on the map of the world in the latter half of the 20th century. The liberated countries have become a subject of world development, and their relative significance in international politics has grown immeasurably; the powerful impulses engendered by the progressive processes here are being perceived with increased strength in the centers of world capitalism.

The remnants of the colonial system have collapsed, and the signs of a crisis of the system of neocolonial exploitation which came to replace it are coming to light. The liberated countries are increasingly emphatically declaring their rights in the international arena. Revolutionary storms have brought irreversible changes in such countries as Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, which were seemingly tightly suppressed by antipopular and tyrannical regimes. Everything indicates that the Asian, African and Latin American peoples do not intend to stop at the frontier of the national independence that they have won. The liberation struggle on the periphery of world capitalism is continuing and is being nurtured by powerful objective factors of social development, and the 1980's will indisputably be a time of new revolutionary upheavals here.

I

An entire stage of the era of contemporary national liberation revolutions--the stage of anticolonial struggle and also of armed struggle against the interventions of imperialism and racism directly connected with the downfall of the colonial system (Indochina, Angola, Zimbabwe)--was essentially completed in the 1970's. The collapse of the last colonial empire--the Portuguese--and, particularly, the plans for the creation of a U.S. "neocolonial empire" in Southeast Asia were most important landmarks and turning points in the development of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The paths of the national liberation movement in the new phase of its development and in the struggle against the modern forms of dependence were also discerned. It is essentially a question of a second round of socialist revolutions in Africa, where a new, people's democratic form of revolutionary power has emerged.

The 1974-1975 world economic crisis and its consequences accelerated the erosion of the system of dependent-capitalist development in countries with authoritarian regimes. A democratic trend in the national liberation movement strengthened sharply in the latter half of the decade. Under the conditions of absolutist regimes inherited from feudalism and traditional (or semifascist) military dictatorships this trend acquired a distinctly expressed revolutionary, anti-imperialist and often objectively anticapitalist nature.

In a whole number of situations the growth of the democratic movement assumed other forms and led to different results; a shift of power occurred here from military to civilian groups, and (or) elements of political "pluralism" and civil liberties were partially restored (Nigeria, Ghana, Brazil, Ecuador and others). The ruling circles maintained control over the process here, channeling it into "limited democracy". In certain countries (in tropical Africa), on the other hand, power passed to the hands of anti-imperialist military-civilian governments which proclaimed their countries' embarkation on the path of socialist development. Finally, several of the most odious regimes (Uganda and others) were removed by way of military coup or by means of armed operations of patriotic forces supported by neighboring progressive regimes.

Altogether these processes, which, as we can see, by no means exhaust the complexity, richness and "unexpectedness" of historical development in the Asian, African and Latin American countries in recent years, have again essentially changed the political appearance of this part of the world. It is perfectly obvious that on three continents the revolutionary struggle is by no means "abating" and that trends toward a purely evolutionary development of national and regional situations do not predominate.

Leading imperialist politicians also now proceed from the fact that the century's final decades will be a period of powerful new explosions in the developing world. They are prompted to this way of thinking by, among other things, the Iranian revolution, which was a total surprise to almost everyone--a distinctive and contradictory phenomenon, but, in any event, one which has demonstrated indisputably that there are no regimes in the developing world which are sufficiently strong to guarantee the preservation of imperialism's positions in their previous form.

Indeed, political storms had raged around Iran for decades and monarchies and post-colonial regimes had collapsed, but the power of the shah, it seemed in the West, was immune to any revolutionary upheavals. And then this peripheral-capitalist idyll of development was smashed to smithereens. Capitalism, which had been implanted with the help of huge oil revenues and with reliance on foreign capital, had been unable to create in a backward country a sufficiently developed, modern bourgeois society. The social contradictions were not eased but exacerbated, and the spread of Western cultural and social standards in the Americanized version evoked a powerful reaction in the form of an aspiration to a revival of traditional, Islamic moral principles and customs. The revolution which overthrew the monarchy was religious in form, but social and national in content and was aimed against national humiliation and dependence and social injustice and despotism. The specific features of the revolution, which were that it was headed by the Shi'ite clergy, also conditioned its further contradictory development and led to the formation of a regime which combined within itself anti-imperialist and conservative features.

The course of the Iranian revolution confirms the conclusion drawn in the report at the 26th CPSU Congress that "a liberation struggle may be developed under the banner of Islam," but that at the same time "reaction also operates with Islamic slogans in raising counterrevolutionary rebellions." This is proved, in particular, by the events in two neighboring countries--Iran and Afghanistan. It should be emphasized here that sometimes--and this is again noticeable in Iran--Islamic ideology is employed not by different but the same sociopolitical forces to substantiate both anti-imperialist and antidemocratic slogans and actions and for the assertion of the false proposition of a "special Islamic path" opposed both to the West and the East, that is, to capitalism and socialism.

Reaction is endeavoring to change the anti-imperialist nature of the Iranian revolution, but, irrespective of its further development, it has already stirred up the masses of the Muslim East and weakened imperialism's positions in a most important region of the developing world.

The powerful blow inflicted in the mid-1970's on the traditional forms of neocolonial exploitation which had predominated in the third quarter of the century was indisputably a qualitative change in the development of relations between the emerging countries and imperialism. We are speaking of the direct exploitation by the former metropolis of the natural resources of the developing world, the uncontrolled extortion of surplus value, based on diktat, the "extensive" use of local manpower and so forth.

The developing countries' transition from isolated demonstrations against individual monopolies and individual forms of imperialist exploitation "to active operations against economic neocolonialism as a whole"*--the first palpable retaliatory blow (in the economic sphere) and a "reverse impulse" from the periphery to the centers of the system--forced the "center" to consent to certain concessions, increase

*K.N. Brutents, "Osvobodivshiesya strany v 70-e gody" [The Emerging Countries in the 1970's], Moscow, 1979, p 15.

the "share" of the local ruling groups, recognize certain forms of control over its activity and change some aspects of its policy. The totality of these changes possibly signifies that the abutments of this type of dependence, which came to replace colonialism, have been undermined. The strength and protracted nature of the economic crisis which struck the capitalist system in the same "mid-1970's" and which determined many aspects of the West's subsequent policy in relation to the developing world testify to this.

In speaking of the successes of the national liberation movement and, in a broader plane, of the developing countries in their confrontation with imperialism and neo-colonialism something else should not, however, be forgotten. This movement knew in the 1970's by no means only the joy of victories but also the grief of defeats. Together with the revolutionary trends of the historical process in Asia, Africa and Latin America trends of another type are developing also. And imperialism itself is not only stubbornly resisting and counterattacking but also attempting to adapt to the new conditions; furthermore, as long as the societies of the "periphery" are subordinate to the logic of capitalist development, it may take advantage of the changes which are occurring and even its retreats for the formation of new types of dependence, including those based on formal economic equality, "assistance" and so forth. Nor can a certain reorientation of the monopolies' socioeconomic policy in the developing countries be ruled out: from a gamble on satisfaction of the requirements of the elite strata and the export sectors to an endeavor to expand the domestic consumer market and thereby integrate it in the world capitalist economy.

The age-old goal amounts not only to ensuring the stability of supplies of raw material and, perhaps, markets for the monopolies of the imperialist centers and thereby sociopolitical stability in these centers; an even more general task of the "new policy" is the ever deepening economic and social "envelopment" of the developing world in the relations and ties of the world capitalist economy; creation of a system of international organizations which determine the capitalist nature of the structure of world-economic relations; weakening and "taking under control" the relations of economic cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist world; and establishment (or restoration) of stronger relations with real or potential class allies in the developing world and expansion of the social base of their domination.

It was this that the new (for the 1970's) features in the imperialist countries' policy with respect to the developing world were designed to serve: from a one-sided reliance on extreme right, avowedly pro-imperialist forces and regimes to the simultaneous establishment of relations with national-reformist forces.

A counterprocess also developed in parallel. The crisis of reactionary political structures, the appearance of new economic (and, sometimes, political) possibilities of "evolutionary" opposition to neocolonialism (the energy and raw material crises; coordination of the actions of the developing countries), certain difficulties of the development of the revolutionary-liberation movement in a number of zones of the southern continents and the political maneuvers of the United States and European social democracy--all this led in the 1970's to a certain strengthening of national-reformist trends in the development world.

In Latin American and certain Asian countries these centrist trends were for a certain time a kind of pole of attraction for various liberal and reformist forces and the basis of the formation of a "third line" which, it seemed, had disappeared from the political foreground in the storms of preceding years. In conjunction with the national-conservative circles of the emerging countries these forces attempted--and are attempting now--to achieve a certain general economic compromise with the "centers of power" (bourgeois states and transnational and national monopolies) of the imperialist powers. A compromise which would increase the share of the developing countries (and, in any event, their upper crust) in the "fruits of development" and ensure greater economic and sociopolitical stability within the framework of a dependent-capitalist development model.

An appreciable negative feature of the political situation in the developing world has been the PRC leadership's direct linkage with imperialism, which is aimed not only against the USSR and the socialist system as a whole but also expressly against the national liberation movement and, primarily, its vanguard detachments. Maneuvering in its policy among the national-reformist, conservative and avowedly pro-imperialist forces and regimes, Beijing is endeavoring together with imperialism to unify them for joint struggle against the consistently revolutionary regimes and movements of the developing world and their closest allies in the socialist world.

The latest turn of the U.S. Administration to the right, which was discerned in the fall of 1979 and which increased sharply at the start of 1981, calls in question the "new features" in the policy of imperialism which we spoke of earlier. The first results of this are already to hand (a prospect of imperialism's new armed interventions in the developing world, the weakening of reformist and the strengthening of fascist trends in Latin America and manifest signs of a crisis of the concerted, "general imperialist" policy in the developing world).

As a whole, the recent past is characterized by the permanent crisis of all or nearly all elements of imperialism's policy in the zone of the emerging states and incessant efforts to sniff out a new policy in respect of the developing world suitable for the changed conditions. The toing and froing of the imperialist circles reflects the progressive development of the historical process. However, even if events confirm that the 1970's were for traditional neocolonialism the same as the 1950's for the colonial system, this will merely mean that the peoples of the capitalist periphery have taken another, but not yet decisive frontier in the struggle for genuinely independent development.

II

The situation currently taking shape in relations between the developing countries and imperialism; and the successes in socialist development in Asia and Africa in combination with the development of the capitalist production mode in a number of Asian societies and of "dependent capitalism" in Latin America and the phenomena of subimperialism, differentiation and so forth--all this demands again and again a discussion of the general theoretical problems of the revolutionary process on the periphery of world capitalism. The corresponding discussion has essentially

been under way for several years now in Soviet research.* The problem of dependence proves in one way or another to be at the center of this discussion.

Everyone agrees that the determining goal of the developing countries at this (post-colonial) stage of their history is the achievement of economic independence (although this very concept is interpreted variously).

Given the changed correlation of world forces, these states have increased their freedom of action primarily in the international plane. We have a paradoxical picture. In world politics the role of the emerging countries has increased sharply, and the times of a downtrodden existence and hopelessness are long past. The non-aligned movement has made its presence known resoundingly and has in fact become a powerful spokesman for and exponent of the developing states' solidarity and an effective instrument of their anti-imperialist policy. The very existence of the nonaligned movement is a rejection of the policy of diktat and proof of the failure of imperialism's attempts to reduce the consequences of the liquidation of the colonial system to purely nominal changes—in the plane of the legal sovereignty of the new states with preservation of the possibility of manipulating them and keeping them within the sphere of its political control. But, on the other hand, the weakness and lagging of the economy of the majority of developing countries within the world capitalist economy and the dependence of even those of them which have achieved a considerable growth of their industrial potential are apparent, as before. The figures illustrating the colossal discrepancy between the industrially developed and backward countries of the nonsocialist world resound impressively, as before.

Is, however, this picture not contradicted by the fact that, relying on the assistance and support of the socialist states (and on such a considerable factor as the solidarity of the developing countries themselves), a young national state could make concrete economic decisions which run counter to the interests of imperialism?

The heart of the matter, we believe, is that the possibility of the independent adoption of decisions, on questions of economic policy included, is not equivalent to the possibility of independent development, primarily independent economic development. The independence of economic policy—where it exists—is limited by the fairly precisely shaped framework set by the logic of capitalist development which today is the most profound basis of the reproduction of dependent relations.

V.I. Lenin wrote that the "domination of financial capital.. is ineradicable by any transformations in the sphere of political democracy; and self-determination belongs entirely and exclusively to this sphere."** Indeed, we see that national self-determination has been achieved, but the domination of international financial capital in the nonsocialist world is preserved, albeit in far from so absolute and uncontrolled form as hitherto. The dependence of the "weak" on the "strong"

*We refer, in particular, to the discussion and problem articles published in the latter half of the 1970's by the journals AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA and LATINSKAYA AMERIKA and also K.N. Brutents' monograph "Osvobodivshiesya strany v 70-e gody" (Moscow, 1979).

**V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 27, p 254.

and the "backward" on the "progressive," which is ineradicable within the framework of capitalism, is also preserved accordingly. Economic dependence is, in turn, today the main component of relations which could be defined as "structural ("historical") dependence," which extends, to a varying extent, to all spheres of social development and characterizes the evolution of the "backward" society within the framework of a macrosystem, where the exploiter classes of more developed societies predominate.* Thus comprehended dependence appears at this stage of the development of the emerging countries (and of the science of this development) to be the main factor determining the distinctiveness of their historical evolution and objectively uniting these formationally heterogeneous countries, which are moving in different directions, differ in levels of development and so forth.

The world system of the capitalist economy, in which the developing countries occupy, as is known, a special place, is built precisely on domination-dependence relations. Whereas within industrially developed countries capitalism, which has become the predominant production mode, has engendered contradictions whose axis is the antagonism of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, on a global scale capitalism has created a world system of exploitation and thereby a set of contradictions between the center and the periphery of this system. The first type of contradictions condition the direction and tasks of the international workers movement, the second those of the present-day liberation movement of the peoples of the developing countries. The common adversary determines the unity of goal and of a number of social and political regularities of both movements and the objective need for their closest interaction.

Thus in speaking of the present-day national liberation movement we refer to the struggle against the world capitalist system with its natural concentration of technical-economic progress and relations of domination in its centers and backwardness and dependence on the periphery. By virtue of this, the national liberation movement has an objectively anticapitalist thrust and its own particular--compared with the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist society--impulse of the socialist transformation of the world. It is for this reason that it is viewed in documents of the international communist movement as one of the three principal streams of the world revolutionary process.

The trend toward the revolutionary solution of the contradictions of capitalism as a world system has in the 20th century become the main channel of the enlistment of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the world revolutionary process. This was predicted by V.I. Lenin, when he wrote that "...the movement of the majority of the world's population, initially aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism."**

*"...Relations between the two groups of countries and their mutual influence within the framework of the single world capitalist system are characterized by asymmetry. The impact of the developed countries on the backward countries is qualitatively stronger than the reverse impact--both in the sphere of economics and, particularly, in the social and superstructural spheres" ("Razvivayushchiyesya strany: zakonomernosti, tendentsii, perspektivy" [The Developing Countries: Regularities, Trends, Prospects], Moscow, 1974, p 23).

**V.I. Lenin. "Poln. sobr. soch.," vol 44, p 38.

Indeed, after the achievement of political independence by the peoples of the former colonies, their contradictions with imperialism have by no means receded to a position of secondary importance, "giving way" to class contradictions and social struggle typical, say, of the European countries in the 19th-20th centuries. Despite all the intensiveness of the internal political struggle in the young states born of society's disappointment and dissatisfaction with the social and political results of a development oriented toward capitalism, we must not lose sight of the fact that the scantiness--or negative nature--of these results is explained to a considerable and sometimes decisive extent by the external factor. Even an honest government devoted to the interests of the people could hardly have achieved a cardinal improvement in the economic situation of a backward country within the world capitalist economy. The developing countries' unequal, dependent position in this economic system predetermines the extremely inadequate results of their attempts to achieve an upsurge in the economy and break out of the vicious circle of "underdevelopment".

It was for this reason that the world of the 1970's witnessed the spread of the movement for a new international economic order. It is significant here that the growing differentiation of the developing countries is not yet an insurmountable obstacle to their unity--albeit relative--on the foreign economic front. Despite all the differences in the interests of the wealthy OPEC countries and the "less developed countries" (to take just these two poles), they reveal a fairly high degree of solidarity when it is a question of the need for a restructuring of international economic relations. Even the conservative regimes cannot fail to support--albeit in the interests of self-preservation--a change in the existing unequal system in the world capitalist economy. And if the question is asked as to what forms the basis of the unity of the developing countries, the answer suggests itself: an awareness of their dependence, vulnerability, frustration and inequality in the system created by world capitalism, as, equally, a realization of the fact that only with joint efforts, taking advantage of the possibilities created for them by the existence of world socialism, can they hope to surmount their present position.

On a solution of the cardinal question of the developing countries' relations with the developed capitalist states largely depend the prospects of the internal economic development of the former and, consequently, the prospects of an increase or decline in social tension with its attendant political instability. For this reason the consequences of success or failure in implementation of the program of a new international economic order will prove considerably more profound than appears at first sight.

How anti-imperialist, however, is the platform being presented by the emerging countries, striving for a restructuring of international economic relations? Undoubtedly, this program itself is interpreted variously. In any event, however, Marxists evaluate its basic propositions as progressive, democratic and aimed against neo-colonialism. Implementation of this program presupposes a change in the system of unequal international economic relations which have long existed in the world capitalist economy and an important step toward the restructuring of world economic relations on a democratic basis and principles of equality, the historic need for which was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress.

At the same time, were the program of a new international order to be implemented even, this would not mean the complete extermination of the foundations of

dependence and the latest factors of its reproduction. It could not be otherwise if it is considered that the movement for the realization of this program unites the most diverse regimes, conservative included, which represent, in the main, the interests of sociopolitical strata not interested in radical anti-imperialist solutions and the undermining of the positions of capitalism as a world system. They are striving merely for a "place in the sun" within the framework of this system.* Thus it is hardly possible to talk seriously about the anti-imperialism of the new "oil" bourgeoisie of the Arab monarchies (which has actually become a part of the international financial oligarchy), the African "bureaucratic" bourgeoisie and militarist and fascist dictatorships.

While supporting in every way the basic propositions of the program of a new international economic order and, particularly, the struggle for its implementation (in the course of which the program's anti-imperialist potential could be strengthened) the revolutionary forces of the developing countries are aware of the inadequacy and limitation of such a program from the viewpoint of the fundamental interests of their countries and peoples. These interests demand an extension of the struggle against all, including the latest, forms of the domination of imperialism, against all, including the "internal," structures of dependence, against the ruling classes and groups objectively defending the dependent path of development and against the traditional and new allies of imperialism. And this, in turn, presupposes the independence of the historical action of the revolutionary forces of the developing world constituting the nucleus of the present-day national liberation movement, the socialist perspective of their activity and close cooperation with the remaining revolutionary forces of the present day, primarily world socialism.

Thus the main, anti-imperialist content of the liberation movement in Asian, African and Latin American countries is currently being realized on two levels. On the one hand this is a struggle directed against "external" forms of economic domination (neocolonialism) and political interference (the direct diktat and intervention of imperialism), which are, as a rule, the most intolerable. This struggle is being waged mainly at the state level (the program of a new international economic order, nonalignment and others). On the other hand, this is an "internal" struggle whose spearhead is pointed against the forces objectively representing the interests and logic of capitalist development. This struggle, in whose development the anti-imperialist forces are interweaving increasingly with the democratic and social forces, could in its inmost essence be termed a class struggle, albeit not in the direct sense in which it was anticipated immediately following the disintegration of the colonial system, when it seemed that this would necessarily be a struggle between the local bourgeoisie and the working people's masses.

The impact of the "dependence-backwardness" concept has led to the relative significance of the bourgeoisie and proletariat as yet proving to be comparatively less in the sociopolitical life of a developing society than in the corresponding phases of the history of the West—even when it is a question of similar levels of economic development. In the majority of Asian and African countries neither the bourgeoisie

*That it will be incredibly difficult to achieve this is another matter: such a transformation of the world economy would contradict the "center-periphery" relations organically inherent in imperialism spoken of earlier and would largely run counter to the spontaneous play of market forces in the capitalist system whereby the weak are obliged to be the losers.

nor the proletariat is yet a "main" class in the society's social structure. In many Latin American countries, on the other hand, these classes' role in the political struggle does not yet correspond to their "main" place in the social structure.

Only with regard for this is it understandable: a) why the driving force of capitalist development in the world of the emerging states is not the local private-ownership bourgeoisie but (most often under the aegis of transnational corporations) its surrogate in the shape of a "bureaucratic," "parasitic" and neocomprador bourgeoisie and also militarist "neo-Bonapartist" dictatorships (it is these forces and not a "national bourgeoisie" which are in power in the majority of Asian and African countries); and b) why sociopolitical forces which have adopted the platform of scientific socialism have been able to establish their hegemony in only approximately 15 countries of the developing world. In the majority of countries of a progressive social orientation those in power are left-radical nationalists (revolutionary democrats), whose path toward socialism is perfectly possible, but far from always consistent and sometimes reversible.

Social movements not directly connected with capitalist enterprise but at the same time not representatives of the proletariat or peasantry frequently move to the forefront of political life in the developing countries. The content of the internal political struggle here cannot for this reason be reduced merely to the confrontation of the oppressed masses with the local exploiter clique. There are usually not two but more "camps": petit bourgeois, middle and intermediate strata, a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, including its military variety, a semiproletariat and "preproletariat," marginal, pauper and Lumpen strata are active.

Forces representing genuine, deep-lying, fundamentally anti-imperialist trends of the movement of the peoples for the liquidation of dependence and for social progress are developing on this motley, mosaic and heterogeneous basis. Making their way through the thick stratifications of nationalism (young and therefore particularly energetic), tribalism, religious, clan and caste notions and prejudices and client relations and clearing away with difficulty the obstructions of ignorance and patriarchally downtrodden and submissive attitudes, the revolutionary forces are awakening in the masses self-awareness and an understanding of their true interests.

III

The liberation movement of the developing world is developing under the most varied conditions and is distinguished by an exceptional wealth of variants and hues, which is natural when we consider the far-advanced differentiation of this world. Nonetheless, it is still possible to speak of three main, qualitatively different and at the same time interconnected historical situations in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American revolutionary forces is currently proceeding.

These are

the societies of a socialist development and socialist orientation;

multistructural societies whose development is oriented toward capitalism; and,

finally, societies of dependent middle-development capitalism.

The countries whose leaders have declared that they reject capitalism are designated in the CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th party congress as "states of a socialist orientation and countries which have opted for the path of socialist development." General features and basic similar directions characterize their development. "These are," as L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, "a gradual liquidation of the positions of the imperialist monopolies, the local haute bourgeoisie and the feudals and limitation of the activity of foreign capital. These are securing for the people's state the commanding heights in the economy and a transition to the planned development of the production forces and encouragement of the cooperative movement in the countryside. These are an increase in the role of the working people's masses in public life and the gradual strengthening of the machinery of state with national personnel devoted to the people. These are the anti-imperialist nature of these countries' foreign policy. Revolutionary parties expressing the interests of the broad working people's masses are strengthening therein."

At the same time attention was drawn to the fact that "the development of these countries along a progressive path does not occur identically, of course, and proceeds under complex conditions." How is this manifested and what are the differences between states whose leaders have proclaimed an orientation toward socialism?

In some of them the ruling groups (mainly the petit bourgeois and nonproletarian revolutionary strata akin to them), while having rejected the path of "classical" capitalism with the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, have, nevertheless, not proceeded along the path of the creation of a people's democratic state in which all forms of exploitation are being liquidated and the working people's masses are being promoted to power directly. The ideological evolution of the revolutionary democrats in the direction of scientific socialism has not occurred here, and a vanguard-type party providing for the development of the national-democratic revolution in the direction of socialist transformations has not been created. The revolution has "stuck," as it were, at a certain frontier. A particular system akin to state capitalism has emerged within whose framework, given the leading role of the state sector, capitalist production relations, particularly in agriculture and the trade and services sphere, have come to be developed fairly extensively. The general orientation of these countries toward socialism remains, but a considerable shift of class forces is evidently needed for real movement along this path.

As far as other states which have opted for a path of socialist development are concerned, we should remember Lenin's well-known formula defining the conditions whereby backward countries acquire the possibility of bypassing capitalism as a development stage; it incorporated the words: "to switch to the Soviet system."* With reference to the present-day situation (and terminology) it is a question of nothing other than the need for the creation and functioning of a people's democratic power relying on a system of organs of popular representation and the awakening of the independent activity of the masses and the release of their tremendous creative revolutionary potential. The possibilities revealed by such a process in countries which yesterday were still former colonies or semicolonies of imperialism were shown by the socialist revolutions on Cuba and in Vietnam.

This process is developing today in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and certain other African and Asian countries, where vanguard parties guided by the ideology of

*See V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," vol 41, p 246.

scientific socialism are in power or are being formed. Here we have not simply an orientation toward socialism but the start of socialist development, occurring, it is true, under unusual conditions: the majority of the countries of this group remains within the framework of the world capitalist economic system. This is confronting revolutionary practice (and Marxist thought) with complex new problems to whose solution particular importance is attached in the present situation.

For the time being one thing is clear—it is only possible to ensure the irreversibility of socialist development within the framework of an alien world system of economic relations by strengthening in every possible way the socialist nature of the superstructure and its mobilizing, democratic character and preventing elements of "external" and "internal" capitalism being united in a single system hostile to socialism. In the external plane such a development is impossible without a close political alliance and growing economic cooperation with the socialist world. The all-around strengthening of the regime's leading force—the vanguard party—is the key point and "condition of conditions" here.

In any event, elements of differentiation are increasing within the group of countries which have proclaimed the socialist option, and Marxist researchers must analyze comprehensively and in depth the different manifestations and consequences of this process.

In speaking of the tasks confronting the progressive forces in Asian and African countries developing along a capitalist path it should be emphasized primarily that these countries are characterized by an incomparably greater degree of differentiation than the states which have opted for—or declared in favor of—socialism. With the exception of two OPEC states, the latter rank among the countries with low revenues, while among the countries developing along a capitalist path we see literally all the groupings of the developing world, from the so-called new industrial states (Mexico, Brazil, Singapore and others), including a second "wealthy" subgroup—the bulk of the OPEC countries (including such different states as Nigeria and Saudi Arabia)—through the poorest (Bangladesh and the small tropical African countries). For this reason the "removal of a common factor" here is particularly difficult.

It may be supposed that in the near future the majority of Asia's "new industrial states" will become (or are already becoming) countries of a middle level of development of capitalism and that their emergence beyond the framework of "multistructure" will bring the situation in them close to that in present-day Latin America. The prospects of dozens of poor and very poor countries appear quite different. The ruling circles' choice here in favor of capitalism by no means signifies the reality of the coming into being of some developed capitalist system or other. It is impossible to imagine that in the foreseeable future the capitalist structure will not only supplant or "regrind" the traditional structures there but also assimilate the fruits of their disintegration.

It is in these countries, where one-half of the population of the developing world lives, that the problem of employment—the gravest problem of dependent capitalist development and the one which is least susceptible to solution—will become increasingly acute. Even if the present high rate of population increase begins to decline (of which we cannot be certain), it is not very likely that modern industrial production—extremely capital-intensive, but not very labor-intensive—would absorb any

significant proportion of people needing work. The traditional sectors of the economy, which are unproductive, but which are capable of finding work for large masses of people, will for a long time remain a kind of "settling basin" for the population unable to find work in the modern sectors, and this will contribute to a considerable extent to "assuaging" the employment problem. But, first, the traditional sectors also are incapable of entirely solving this problem: total and partial unemployment will be preserved with all the social consequences ensuing therefrom. Second, in the sphere of income and living standard the section of the population which is employed in the unproductive or unprofitable, even, traditional sector, both in the countryside and in the city, will constantly and acutely lag behind both the skilled workers of the modern industrial sector and—to an even greater extent—the "new middle strata," not to mention the bourgeoisie and privileged strata of the bureaucracy. This will signify a deepening of the social gulf and a constant increase in the broadest masses' dissatisfaction with the increased inequality in income distribution and outrageous social injustice.

Capitalism is bringing its own worst features to the developing countries: the incapacity for providing people with work, the increase in the differentiation in income levels and the constant deepening of the contrasts between rich and poor. Imposed on the "underdevelopment," poverty and backwardness inherited from the colonial era and on the structure of the economy deformed by colonial oppression, these flaws of capitalism are forming a truly monstrous web of old and new disproportions, contradictions and "vicious circles". The situation is being made worse by the fact that the dependence on the centers of world capital in the "lower circle" of the developing world is not accompanied by any large-scale outside investments. As shown in Ye. Primakov's article,* foreign capital is being channeled precisely into the already more developed Asian, African and Latin American countries, while the poorest states of these continents, which are densely populated, indigent and lacking in particularly important natural resources and are politically unstable, moreover, are simply not attracting foreign capital.

All these gloomy prospects, which are described in detail in numerous works, international organization and commission reports, forecasts and so forth, leave no room for illusions concerning some "smooth," successful capitalist development of the group of countries in question. Incidentally, the situations being created as a result of relatively rapid capitalist modernization in the more developed dependent countries promise stability to an even lesser extent. The experience not only of Latin American but also Iran, Turkey and other countries will henceforward testify to this.

The increased contradictions of capitalist evolution cannot fail to lead to serious upheavals and political explosions. At the same time the social upheavals will not always be of a revolutionary nature and lead to progressive changes. A variety of anarchic and even reactionary attempts to break out of the vicious circle of capitalist development and the emergence of extreme right, chauvinist and fanatical movements nurtured by the ignorance and desperation of the masses and nationalist and religious sentiments may be expected.

*Ye. Primakov, "The Law of Uneven Development and the Historical Fate of the Emerging Countries" (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No 12, 1980).

All the greater the responsibility borne by the progressive forces to find that component by which, having latched on to it, it would be possible to turn the gigantic potential of mass social protest in the direction of positive solutions of the accumulated problems, save the working people from false paths of struggle, find slogans clearly and convincingly embodying the directions and tasks of the struggle against those truly culpable of the disastrous situation and rally all the forces of society interested in a break with dependent development.

The explosion of social contradictions to which the Asian and African countries developing along a capitalist path are heading at greater or lesser speed have for several decades now determined the situation on the Latin American continent. Capitalism here has reached a middle level of development almost everywhere and become the predominant production mode. But even in experiencing--the majority of them--the first phases of industrialization the Latin American countries have by no means extricated themselves from the grip of dependence; they have become a proving ground where its latest forms (technological and informational dependence, the coming into being of an "associated bourgeoisie," the mass implantation of artificial requirements and so forth) are being introduced and "tested".

In the 150-plus years which have elapsed since Latin America's liberation from colonial oppression neither capitalist development nor dependent industrialization have resolved a single one of the continent's "accursed problems". Latin America is the world leader in concentration of landowner property and peasant landlessness, discrepancy between city and countryside and level of social polarization and mass nature of unemployment and number of dictatorial regimes. All this confirms for the umpteenth time the illusory nature of the hopes that the economic and socio-political development of the Asian and African countries along the capitalist path will be "smooth" and "conflict-free".

At the same time many qualitative parameters of development separate Latin America from Asia and tropical Africa, as also, incidentally, from West Europe. The point is not only that, as distinct from the former, it is capitalist and, from the latter, dependent. But also that its dependence is different from that in the East, while its capitalism is different from that in the West. Both these features determine here the distinctiveness of the revolutionary process. On the one hand it is born primarily of the contradictions and crisis of "dependent capitalism" and is aimed against imperialism (both as the system of dependence and the policy of the biggest imperialist state--the United States). On the other, the level and nature of local capitalist development predetermine the precisely expressed social nature of the struggle for national goals. Because the class impulse of revolutionary struggle born in the sphere of capitalist production is incomparably stronger in Latin America. Because the level of the activeness of the masses and its definite political thrust is considerably higher here. And because, finally, objectively the spearhead of the anti-imperialist struggle on the continent is aimed directly against the political domination of the bourgeoisie and, in the course of the revolution, under the effect of the objective regularities of development, turns against the socioeconomic foundations of capitalism. In other words, the anti-imperialist revolution in Latin America may be victorious only as an anticapitalist revolution. All this was shown by the Cuban revolution, which also opened the present stage of the continent's social and revolutionary development.

Since that time the struggle between the forces of revolution and the counterrevolutionary bourgeois-imperialist bloc has assumed the form of periodically recurring explosions, cycles of revolutionary upsurge and the counterbattle and counteroffensive of reaction. The bourgeois-imperialist bloc has set in motion against the revolution all resources--from the intervention of U.S. marines and the revival of fascist regimes on the Latin American continent through promises of reforms, economic assistance and a guarantee of "human rights". Advantage has also been taken of the continent's unfavorable--for revolution--geographical location (proximity to the United States), the greater (than in Asia and Africa) strength of the local state and the practical knowledge of the domination of the exploiter classes and much else. However, the revolutionary movement was stifled neither in the 1960's nor 1970's, although tens of thousands of its fighters and hundreds of leaders perished by bullet and torture. Experience was accumulated, and a scientifically substantiated, effective strategy and realistic tactics of revolution were formulated. The problem of the unity of the forces of the left has been solved successfully in a number of countries since the end of the 1970's. All this was a prerequisite of the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Latin America in recent years: the victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, the uprising of liberation in El Salvador and the growth of the workers and democratic movement in other subregions of the continent.

The final decades of the 20th century will undoubtedly be a time of new tests for the liberation movement of the developing countries and decisive battles on new frontiers of its development.

Glancing at the panorama of the developing world at the start of the 1980's, it would be possible to mistakenly conclude that in the face of the global nature of the strategy of imperialism the liberation process appears here as something fragmented by national and regional barriers; revolutionary movements in individual countries or, more often, groups of countries are occupied with their own specific problems and so forth.

It is, of course, true that that "starting" stage of the anticolonial struggle, when the majority of developing countries--and revolutionary movements--was faced with roughly identical tasks and there was a concrete, visible common enemy, while the idea of national unity and the cohesion of the whole society in a general fervor of liberation was most attractive within the newborn states, has come to an end. The situation now is more complex and complicated. The discontent of the masses is turning to an increasing extent against their own rulers. The differentiation of the young states has come a long way. The tasks and nature of the struggle of the revolutionary forces in these states have also been differentiated accordingly. All this confronts the liberation anti-imperialist movement with many new and complex problems.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, common questions and objective goals confront both the revolutionary movement of all three zones of the developing world and a considerably broader spectrum of social and political forces interested in surmounting the backwardness, neocolonialist forms of dependence and economic inequality of the developing countries. These problems are rapidly worsening, and the need for their solution increases accordingly. And on both levels simultaneously, moreover: an anti-colonialist "program minimum" and a revolutionary-anti-imperialist "program maximum".

But it is not merely a question of community of goals. Certain objective regularities and requirements of the development of the national liberation movement exist today also. These are:

the unity of the movement--on a national, regional and interregional scale and its unity (globally) with other forces of the world revolutionary process; and the strengthening of the organic cooperation of the national liberation movement with the socialist world--without which there is no way out of the labyrinths of dependence.

The fact that the Asian, African and Latin American peoples have strong and dependable allies in the international-political plane and can count on their disinterested and effective economic assistance serves as a factor of tremendous importance for them. It is the socialist world which is for these peoples the bulwark without which the trends of independent development would be doomed to fail and would be of a utopian nature. This applies to all the greater extent to the trends of socialist development. For the countries which have embarked on this path, particularly at the stage of the consolidation of the regime and the building of a new society, the existence and assistance of world socialism are an absolutely essential condition of the successful development of the liberation process.

As L.I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th party congress, "the CPSU will continue to consistently pursue a policy of the development of the USSR's cooperation with the liberated countries and the consolidation of the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement." The course of world history, which was predicted and, to a certain extent, directed by Lenin's brilliance 60 years ago, is such that the former colonies have not found themselves--and will not find themselves--in a situation of single combat with imperialism. This could be the decisive factor in their destiny.

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8850

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INTERNATIONAL

SUMMARIES OF ARTICLES IN 'MEMO' JOURNAL

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6, Jun 81
pp 158-159

[Text] Yu. Krasin in the article "The Main Line of Development of Humanity" stresses that the 26th Congress of the CPSU has convincingly confirmed by new data and arguments the conclusion of the Marxists that socialism is the decisive force of current international development, whose influence on world history is growing from year to year.

The deep changes in economics, social relations, spiritual life of the Socialist community, characterized by the Congress are evidenced of the practical realization of the ideas and aims of the Communist teaching. The author notes that creative program put forward at the Congress of our Party is a program of peaceful construction. In its turn the content of the internal policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Union determine the consistent policy of peace in the world arena. The objective need of the socialist-system in peaceful conditions of development is organically connected in our days with mankind's striving for peace, as an indispensable precondition for social progress.

Lagging behind in peaceful competition imperialism is seeking to push the socialist countries to an unbridled arms race, to divert their resources from the solution of creative tasks. The communists are the conscious political kernel of the forces, fighting for peace and social progress. The consolidation of international unity is the pass to the strengthening of the vanguard role of the international communist movement in the world revolutionary process, to the realization of its historical mission.

In the article "National Liberation Struggle: the Present Stage" K. Maidanik and G. Mirsky examine the national liberation movement as a struggle against capitalism, representing a world system with its characteristic concentration of technological and economic progress, relations of domination in its centres and backwardness and dependence in remote regions. They note that the 70s have witnessed the completion of the stage of anti-colonial struggle, the second half of the decade being marked by the growing impact of democratic trends in the national liberation movement of revolutionary anti-imperialist and even anti-capitalist character. Recent developments in the three continents have once more changed the political image of this part of the world. It is clear that neither the "fading" of the revolutionary struggle, nor the development of purely evolutionary tendencies are taking place.

The authors show that imperialism however seeks economically and socially to incorporate the developing countries in the framework of the world capitalist system, to establish more reliable contact with real or potential allies in the developing world. Since the world capitalist system is based on the relation of domination-dependence, unequal dependent positions of the developing countries predetermines an extremely weak effect of their attempts to break the vicious circle of "under-development". To achieve this goal it is necessary to consolidate the democratic, progressive forces in the developing countries amalgamating there the elements of "internal" and "external" capitalism.

V. Pankov in his article "The Evolution of Economic Views of Social Democracy" noting the important contribution of the parties, participating in the Socialist International into the relaxation of world tension, poses the question of the reasons, that condition the insufficient efforts of social democracy to step up the struggle against the monopoly domination and to defend the interests of the working people. These reasons are due to the ideological line of the social-democratic leaders for whom opportunism and reformism are typical.

Considering the economic theories of social-democracy, the author reveals the essence of the conceptions of its right-moderate and left wings, underlines the growing differentiation within the social democratic parties.

Today the economic theories of the social democrats to greater extent than in the 50-60s have to take into consideration some of the vital needs of the wide strata of the working people. The current and long-term tasks of the working class and its allies ever increasingly demand that the social democracy give up its "partnership" with the bourgeoisie and its illusions, concerning the possibility of "transforming" capitalism.

V. Zubchaninov attempting to answer the question "What Limits the Technical Progress in the Capitalist Countries" examines the impact of cyclical factors, investments, achievements of the scientific and technological progress and external economic developments on the general conditions of capitalist reproduction. The author notes the importance of capital investments as a material basis of technological change. Analysing the main lines of this progress, however, he points out to the danger of non-compensated growth of capital expenditures, since the efficiency, measured as capital output ratio, or appreciated by the correlation between capital per workers ratio and productivity of labour, tends to diminish. Higher effectiveness may be achieved through the introduction of new technological solutions and principles. Having quoted a variety of possible innovations in chemistry, electronics, etc., V. Zubchaninov states that the diffusion of capital-economizing technique is hampered both by the inadequate investments activities, caused by the general deterioration of conditions of capitalist reproduction and the necessity of large energy and raw materials expenditures as well as the expenditures on environment protection, growing sophistication of industrial and agricultural technique. Now, when for the introduction of new progressive technology higher investments are needed, whereas the rate of accumulation in the capitalist world cannot be enhanced, the pace of technological advance necessarily slows down. The lack of the resources for capitalist reindustrialization, growing unemployment, slackened tone of economic activities demonstrate that though no technical solutions will enable capitalism to overcome the consequences of its limited possibilities of productive accumulation and economic growth.

Yu. Shishkov, analysing in his article "The EFTA--Road of Search and Contradictions" specific features of the integration process within the European Free Trade Association notes, that the EFTA countries have never intended to develop their economic integration into a political one or transform their Common Market of industrial goods the geographical distribution of their foreign trade. The biggest part of it falls on the EFTA the author stresses its importance as a unique instrument of soft integration among minor countries of Western Europe. But the Association's activities have not changed the geographical distribution of their foreign trade. The biggest part of it falls on the EEC. Such a situation creates certain economic and political difficulties for the EFTA states. They are faced with the problem of the development of their relations with the Common Market, which goes far beyond the trade matters alone. The author analyses a contradictory nature of these relations and expressed the opinion that the EFTA could avoid negative consequences of this trend by expanding its authority in additional fields of economic policy. In such a way the EFTA could guarantee its independent position in the integration process and in economic and political life of Europe in general.

The article "Right Wing Conservatives in Power" by S. Madzowski, S. Perehudov and E. Hessin analyses the results of the two-years rule by the Conservative party in Britain. The authors note that in the economic field the "monetarist" policy of the new Tories has seriously aggravated the hardships brought about by the recession. Despite their "non-interventionist" doctrines the Tory leadership continued to use state intervention in the economy and social affairs in the interests of financial capital and the ruling class as a whole. Under pressure from industrial capital and other quarters this intervention has a clear tendency to grow, and this is only one of the signs of the failure of the whole monetarist experience. In the home policy field the rightwing orientation has increased the unpopularity of the government to the unprecedented in the post-war period scale. The polarisation of main political forces in the country has induced some sections of the ruling class to pursue the "centrist" strategy. Together with the sharpening differences in both main parties this created a development, going far beyond the "normal" political adaptation. Despite the "monetary" influence of some elements in the government the overall balance of the British foreign policy since the general election of 1979 has moved to the right. The Tory leaders have made the main accent on the "tough" anti-soviet line, close links with the American administration and negative attitude towards detente and disarmament.

This policy not only created new problems for Great Britain in the international field as a whole and in the relationships with its European allies in particular, but at the same time added to the unpopularity of the government at home.

B. Dobrovinsky devotes his article "The Tendencies of Development of Labour Productivity in Japan" to the current crucial problem of productivity growth, regarded as one of the most essential factors of economic development. The accelerated productivity growth has saved life labour and has caused greater pace of economic advance. Instability of this indicator is explained by the cyclical fluctuations, unstable rates of increase in employment, as well as by differences of the annual rates of productivity growth. The factors stipulating higher labour productivity in Japan are believed to include, first and foremost increases in capital, labour and energy labour ratios. A comparative analysis of the dynamics of these indicators and labour productivity, testifies to the capital-intensive mode of development.

However, higher efficiency of nationaleconomy was secured due to better labour-output and material-input-output rations.

Another major factorsof productivity growthare associated with the incorporation of the results of technological progress in industry and structural changes, understood as the changes in the composition of the social product, specific features of enterprises' activities, distribution of employees, socio-economic parameters, etc. Direct intensification of physical, psychological and intellectual pressure has also contributed to productivity growth, at the expense of the working masses.

The present situation is featured by lower economic growth, marketing difficulties and stagnating investments' process have caused the deceleration of productivity growth in the late 70s, and these factors are supposed to persist in the years to come.

8850

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INTERNATIONAL

WEST'S USE OF ANTI-SOVIET EMIGRATION ATTACKED

Moscow GOLOS RODINY in Russian No 28, Jul 81 pp 12-13

[Article by A. Afanas'yev, candidate of philosophical sciences: "In Imperialism's Servants' Quarters"]

[Text] During all the years of the Soviet state's existence, imperialist propaganda has tried to discredit real socialism by actively making use of anti-Soviet emigres. "The imperialists and their accomplices regularly conduct hostile campaigns against the socialist countries," the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress says. "They denigrate and distort everything that takes place in these countries. Their main objective is to turn people away from socialism." This article tells how the capitalist world has used and is using anti-Soviet emigration in its ideological sabotage of our state.

It is no secret that V. I. Lenin kept a close watch on the mood and behavior of White Russian emigres. Vladimir Il'ich argued passionately with the Russian overseas counterrevolutionary press. These arguments began with the pamphlet entitled "In the Servants' Quarters," which castigated the Menshevik and SR [Socialist Revolutionary] press that turned out to be "on the other side of the barricade" during the first years of Soviet rule. "These learned intellectuals, who think they are socialists and call themselves socialists, are completely filled with bourgeois prejudices and are dancing attendance on the bourgeoisie." This is what V. I. Lenin had to say about the Menshevik and SR "company of writers." Since that time the "strong and pungent smell of the servants' quarters" has been a distinctive feature of past and present anti-Soviet emigres.

The counterrevolutionary segment of this emigration always relied on all-round assistance from big capital. The activities of anti-Soviet emigres in the West have only confirmed the accuracy of Lenin's statement that "these...are the direct accomplices of worldwide capital, looking to it for their support and acting in concert with it."

In the 1920's the world bourgeoisie advanced the ideologists of Russian counter-revolution to the frontlines of the struggle against the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution. During those years, the West's ideological arsenal became

the new home of the entire array of antisocialist ideas propounded by the ideological leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie and the autocracy after the revolution of 1905-1907. Many White Russian emigre historians, philosophers, theologians and sociologists were awarded prominent positions in Western academic institutions and had a perceptible effect on the new science of Sovietology.

White Russian emigre ideologists (N. Berdyayev, P. Struve, N. Sukhanov, P. Milyukov, N. Ustryalov, S. Bulgakov and others) made every effort to present a false picture in their works of the grand socialist reforms instituted in the young Nation of Soviets. The myths that were concocted at that time about the "Soviet military threat," the "incompatibility" of democracy and socialism and the "totalitarian" nature of the world's first socialist state, every possible variation on the theories about backward Russia and the mysterious Russian soul and the lies about the alleged "violations of human rights and absence of personal freedom" in the USSR still constitute the "gold reserves" of anti-Soviet propaganda.

Of course, emigre literature now accounts for a much smaller portion of bourgeois works on history and the social sciences. The West now has its own Sovietologists, trained in "Russian" centers and universities in the United States, France, the FRG, England, Italy and other countries. But this does not mean that today's bourgeois ideologists have discarded the ideological baggage of the anti-Soviet emigres of the first years of Soviet rule. The concoctions of their "spiritual leaders" are still nurturing today's Sovietologists, although these sometimes try to verbally dissociate themselves from the more odious White Russian emigre ideas about the history of the October Revolution and the Soviet society.

It is indicative, for example, that D. Vernadskiy, former University of St. Petersburg professor, was the honorary president of the American Association for Slavic Studies, the largest organization coordinating the work of U.S. Sovietologists, for many years. Other presidents were the anti-Soviet philologist G. Struve and historian N. Ryazanovskiy.

After the end of World War II, big capital (primarily American) was even more generous in its support of organizations of anticommunist emigres from the socialist countries, and it directed their activities. The purpose was the following: With the aid of emigrants from the USSR, a systematic analysis of Soviet society was to be conducted so that imperialist propaganda would have a greater impact on Soviet people. In the late 1940's and early 1950's the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Australia lifted the last restrictions on the entry of "displaced persons" who had collaborated with Hitler's forces.

In 1951 President Truman signed the Mutual Security Act, which included an amendment drafted by Congressman C. Kersten, envisaging annual financing of 100 million dollars to be paid out to "selected individuals in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria...or persons fleeing these countries, either to unite them in subunits of the armed forces or for other purposes."

This aid from reactionary circles in the imperialist states led to the creation of international emigre organizations. In 1954 the Assembly of Captive European Nations and Anti-Bolshevik Popular Bloc sprang up. Many anti-Soviet organizations are part of the United American Refugee from Central and Eastern Europe, which came into being in 1956.

Other organizations also appeared, usually under the guise of private associations, with the aim of making active use of emigres from the socialist countries in ideological sabotage against the socialist world. For example, the National American Committee for a Free Europe, later called the Committee for a Free Europe, was founded as early as June 1949. In 1977 an international Samizdat research center and Samizdat archives were founded in the FRG, specializing in the collection of anti-Soviet literature, the compilation and dissemination of ideological forgeries and the elaboration of forms and methods of anticommunist propaganda. According to Springer's newspaper DIE WELT the creation of this center was financed by the Volkswagen Foundation and other "philanthropic" organizations in the FRG, Switzerland and the United States.

The anti-Soviet rabble from the Popular Labor Union, associations of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Transcaucasian bourgeois nationalists, various Zionist centers, hundreds of anti-Soviet emigre organizations of various stripes and a fairly large anti-Soviet emigre press are still active. The most rabid ideological saboteurs are Solzhenitsyn, Maksimov, Plyushch, Bukovskiy and other renegades who were deported from our country or left voluntarily. It must be borne in mind that most of these organizations have few members.

The counterrevolutionary emigres were incensed by the results of the all-Europe Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and began a fierce propaganda campaign against the Helsinki accords, calling them a "tragedy," "communist provocation" and a "betrayal" of the West's interests. They became actively involved in the campaign led by anticommunist centers in the capitalist countries to collect "evidence" of alleged violations of the Helsinki agreements by the USSR.

Imperialism has also armed itself with a slightly different tactic and is trying to disintegrate the socialist structure from within. It has embarked on the "democratization" and "erosion" of real socialism. The "revelations" of various types of renegades from the socialist countries are being widely used for this purpose.

Bourgeois propaganda has taken complete leave of its senses in its exaggeration of the "dissident" topic. Here is a perfect example. "Solzhenitsyn and others depict contemporary Russian history as clearly and thoroughly as Pushkin and Tolstoy once did," remarked, for example, the anticommunist magazine PROBLEMY KOMMUNIZMA. The "stars" of all this commotion are setting records in shameless and base behavior. Let us recall how Sinyavskiy belched "Russia is a Bitch" in his notorious "Continent." Both nouns were capitalized by this former associate from the Moscow Institute of World Literature. The anti-Soviet arsenals must be quite depleted if this kind of scum has to be elevated to hero status!

Western propaganda is using anticommunist emigres to cultivate anticommunist feelings in the general public in the capitalist countries, which is almost in a state of complete ignorance about our country.

The Western mass media are striving to prove that emigres from the socialist countries have been wholly and completely "assimilated" into the Western way of life. For example, American propaganda has recently written quite a bit about the life of Americans of Ukrainian origin.

In fact, however, a fierce ideological struggle is being fought by Americans of Ukrainian origin (there are now 1.1-1.2 million of them) and, in general, by all emigres from our nation who are living abroad. American propaganda has never mentioned the energetic work conducted in the United States by a large progressive organization, the League of American Ukrainians, and has not mentioned that progressive emigre newspapers are being published, such as UKRAINS'KI VISTI, UKRAINIAN AMERICAN and others.

In his speech in December 1977 at the festivities commemorating the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet rule in the Ukraine and the creation of the Ukrainian SSR, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the CP Uk Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, said that "around 3 million emigres from the Ukraine live abroad. Most of them keep track of our republic's achievements with profound interest and sincere goodwill and take joy in its successes.

"Many of those who had to leave their native land in search of bread and a better life overseas before the establishment of the Soviet Regime and their children and grandchildren visit the Soviet Union and our republic, carry the truth about the world's first socialist country to the people and promote friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the countries where these Ukrainian emigre laborers have settled."

The fact that bourgeois ideology has unsuccessfully employed reactionary emigres as advocates and witnesses throughout the years of the Soviet State's existence is cogent proof of its impotence.

8588

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INTERNATIONAL

TASKS OF NEW ALL-UNION ASSOCIATION OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, PRIMAKOV SPEECH

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, 1981 pp 169-175

[Article by A. P. Baziyants: "All-Union Association of Orientalists (Constituent Assembly of Scholarly Community)"]

[Excerpts] A meeting was held at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies on 9 October 1980, devoted to establishment of an All-Union Association of Orientalists. The meeting was attended by orientalists from this country's scholarly and scientific centers, as well as publishing houses, libraries, museums, ministries and agencies. At the initiative of the scholars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, supported by the scholarly community of other oriental studies centers, it was decided to establish a public scholarly organization uniting this country's Eastern studies specialists. The new association differs in its tasks and goals from the Oriental Studies Association which existed in the 1920's, which was invested with the functions of scientific research institutes and educational institutions. The historical conditions and scholarly training of personnel have changed, as have the tasks facing the Association of Orientalists.

Academician Ye. M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, presented a report entitled "Aims and Tasks of the All-Union Association of Orientalists" at the meeting. He emphasized that a process of differentiation, which is occurring in the socioeconomic, political, economic and ideological spheres, has been increasingly in evidence since the collapse of the colonial system in the countries of the East. It is precisely differentiation which defines the present face of the East. There exist here socialist countries, countries of socialist orientation, and countries following the capitalist road. The complexity of development of these groups of countries, due to their specific conditions, is obvious. The countries of socialist orientation are developing, overcoming a number of conflicts inherent in the noncapitalist path of development. Consequently it is necessary thoroughly to study these conflicts, to investigate them comprehensively in order to see the true development prospects of the nations of the East.

The uneven pace of economic and political development of the countries of the East has led to the creation of certain subimperialist focal points in the East. Countries which are pursuing a policy reminiscent in many ways of the policies of the imperialist nations are influencing neighboring nations in a corresponding

manner. In many cases they are implementers of imperialist policy. This is a new phenomenon, which should be thoroughly studied. One should take into consideration thereby the uniqueness of the revolutionary process in the East, which is expressed chiefly in the nonuniformity of maturation of conditions which determine the revolutionary process as a whole.

V. I. Lenin spoke of the existence of economic or material preconditions for revolution and of the existence of objective sociopolitical conditions for revolution, which he called a revolutionary situation, and of the existence of a subjective factor which, in combination with a revolutionary situation, leads to its further development into revolution. These three elements, which characterize the revolutionary process, ripened nonuniformly in the East, and not only from country to country but also in the relationship of one to another, which engenders corresponding peculiarities of development of the revolutionary process.

Totally new features are characteristic of the revolutionary situation which is presently being created in a number of Eastern countries, features which are not characteristic of revolutionary situations in the past. V. I. Lenin characterized revolutionary situation as a crisis, as a congruence of crisis at the top and crisis at the bottom. Just what is this top and this bottom in the East? In what is the crisis at the top and crisis at the bottom manifested in the East? Soviet Orientalists should study these important problems through joint efforts; the answer to these questions determines in large measure the capability correctly to understand the development prospects of the Eastern nations.

As they gained maturity, oriental studies proceeded to involve various disciplines, different methods of investigations, and were increasingly assuming a combined character. Today there obviously exist several dimensions of this combined character. First of all, Eastern studies do not constitute one but a number of scholarly disciplines. The point is not that they are developing in parallel but rather their mutual integration and interweaving. The term Eastern studies covers such disciplines as sociology, history, economics, the study of literature, linguistics, culture and other disciplines which are organically united in a single Orientalist channel. This is one of the combined dimensions of today's Eastern studies.

The speaker noted that a second dimension is the fact that Oriental studies today are involved not only in retrospective investigations but also deal with contemporary problems and prognostic studies focused toward the future.

Finally, there is one more dimension of the comprehensive nature of Oriental studies. It is the combination of theoretical and basic studies with studies which are of a direct practical significance. Only in an organic link with practical activities can theoretical thought develop in Oriental studies and in the other humanities.

Investigation of the problems of the present day by no means signifies a slighting attitude toward the traditional cycle of Oriental disciplines, to so-called classical Oriental studies. One should not delimit the traditional cycle of Oriental studies and investigations of the contemporary era. It is quite obvious that study of the monuments of literature of the ancient East and medieval studies -- the entire cycle of disciplines of classical Oriental studies -- develop autonomously. But it is also obvious that the traditional complex cannot develop without

performing functional tasks in connection with investigations of the contemporary era. Investigations of historical events of the most recent decades in the development of the countries of the East require a thorough and comprehensive approach.

The report stated that the Association of Orientalists is being created in conditions of developed, geographically extensive and scientifically capable Soviet oriental studies. It is being created under qualitatively new conditions and at a new level of development of Soviet science.

The Association will help unify the creative scientific energy of a large body of Orientalists and will pursue an aggregate of concrete scholarly tasks, will assist in elaboration of the principal areas of Soviet Oriental studies.

The principal tasks of the All-Union Association of Orientalists consist, first of all, in promoting research based on Marxist-Leninist methodology of history, politics, social thought, economics, languages, literature, written monuments, the cultures of the peoples and countries of the East from ancient times to the present day; secondly, in promoting the Leninist policy of peace and friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the countries of the East, implemented by the Soviet Government, as well as the struggle against racial, ethnic, religious and any other form of intolerance, discrimination and exclusiveness; third, in dissemination of knowledge about the peoples and countries of the East and the achievements of Soviet Oriental studies within the scientific community and the general public of the USSR and abroad.

In this connection preparation of a major research work -- an encyclopedia of Asia -- seems particularly needed. Serious deficiencies are inherent in encyclopedias of Islam published abroad, and the very principle of dividing countries and peoples as well as their spiritual-intellectual culture according to religion is unscientific.

Oriental studies are capable today of publishing a "General History of the East" -- a study in which the history and cultural history of all the countries and peoples of Asia from earliest times up to the present day should be investigated in a close interrelationship and within the channel of world history.

The All-Union Association of Orientalists should have a structure which ensures accomplishment of the assigned tasks and which takes into account the established system of territorial distribution of Eastern studies scientific and educational institutions, museums, libraries, and future prospects of establishment of new Eastern studies centers in this country. There is no doubt that there should be branches of the All-Union Association in such already traditional Orientalist centers as Tashkent, Dushanbe, Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Leningrad, as well as in the Eastern studies centers of Siberia and the Far East.

Our country's Orientalists are adequately prepared and possess every capability to handle the large tasks facing them.

Speakers who took part in the discussion following the report -- B. M. Guseynov (Baku), Ye. K. Sarkisyan (Yerevan), B. I. Iskandarov (Dushanbe), Yu. A. Petrosyan (Leningrad), P. G. Bulgakov (Tashkent), F. V. Solov'yev (Vladivostok), I. S. Braginskiy (Moscow) and Yu. Yu. Avaliani (Samarkand) -- supported the idea of

establishing an All-Union Association of Orientalists and presented a number of interesting and promising suggestions of a scholarly and organizational character.

The constituent assembly adopted a resolution calling for establishment of an All-Union Association of Orientalists, ratified its By-Laws, and elected the Association's executive bodies — the Presidium and Auditing Commission (documents published below).

Academician Ye. M. Primakov was elected Chairman of the All-Union Association of Orientalists.

Bureau of the Presidium of the Association

Ye. M. Primakov; A. P. Bazyants; Yu. B. Gankovskiy; An. A. Gromyko; A. S. Dzasokhov; O. K. Dreyer; G. F. Kim; Yu. A. Petrosyan; M. I. Sladkovskiy; V. M. Solntsev, and G. K. Shirokov.

Auditing Commission of the Association

V. V. Benevolenskiy; G. F. Girs; L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya; G. N. Klimko, and E. N. Temkin.

Presidium of the All-Union Association of Orientalists

Academician Ye. M. Primakov — chairman of the All-Union Association of Orientalists. Deputy chairmen of the All-Union Association of Orientalists: Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. F. Kim; Candidate of Historical Sciences A. P. Bazyants.

Members of the Presidium of the All-Union Association of Orientalists: Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. S. Asimov, Candidate of Historical Sciences Kh. A. Atayev, Doctor of Historical Sciences R. T. Akhramovich, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Bogolyubov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences O. T. Bogomolov, Doctor of Historical Sciences G. M. Bongard-Levin; Doctor of Historical Sciences K. N. Brutents; Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR E. M. Bunyatov; Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR T. V. Gamkrelidze; Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu. V. Gankovskiy; Doctor of Historical Sciences An. A. Gromyko; Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. S. Gryadunov; Doctor of Historical Sciences L. P. Delyusin; Candidate of Historical Sciences O. K. Freyer; Candidate of Historical Sciences A. S. Dzasokhov; Doctor of Economic Sciences A. I. Dinkevich; Candidate of Historical Sciences V. V. Ivanov; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. A. Iskenderov; Candidate of Historical Sciences I. S. Kazakevich; Doctor of Historical Sciences M. S. Kapitsa; Doctor of Historical Sciences I. I. Kovalenko; Academician of USSR Academy of Sciences A. N. Kononov; Candidate of Historical Sciences G. G. Kotovskiy, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. I. Krushalov; Candidate of Economic Sciences I. A. Kulev; Doctor of Historical Sciences A. A. Kutsenkov; Candidate of Historical Sciences P. V. Kutsobin; Doctor of Historical Sciences I. A. Latyshev; Candidate of Historical Sciences Ye. A. Lebedev; Doctor of Economic Sciences A. I. Levkovskiy; Doctor of Historical Sciences K. V. Malakhovskiy; Doctor of Historical Sciences G. I. Mirskiy; Doctor of Philological Sciences V. Ts. Naydakov; Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. P. Okladnikov; Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu. A. Petrosyan; Academician of the USSR

Academy of Sciences B. B. Plotrovskiy, Doctor of Economic Sciences A. A. Prokhozhev; Doctor of Historical Sciences O. B. Rakhmanin; Candidate of Historical Sciences I. A. Rogachev; Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR G. Kh. Sarkisyan; T. V. Sergeyeva; Doctor of Historical Sciences N. A. Simoniya; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. I. Sladkovskiy; Doctor of Philological Sciences V. M. Solntsev; Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR A. S. Sumbatzade; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences S. L. Tikhvinskiy; Doctor of Economic Sciences R. A. Ul'yanovskiy; Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. T. Fedorenko; Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR M. M. Khayrullayev; Candidate of Philological Sciences A. A. Khamatova; Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR K. G. Tsereteli; Doctor of Philological Sciences Ye. P. Chelyshev; Candidate of Historical Sciences A. I. Chicherov; Candidate of Historical Sciences G. I. Chufrin; Candidate of Historical Sciences L. I. Shaydullina; Doctor of Philological Sciences Sh. M. Shamukhamedov; Doctor of Historical Sciences P. M. Shastitko; Doctor of Economic Sciences G. K. Shirokov.

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3024

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INTERNATIONAL

MANCHKHA ON STRUGGLE OF AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 81 pp 84-95

[Article by P. I. Manchkhya: "Communist Parties of the African Countries at the Present Stage of the Struggle for Social Progress"]

[Excerpts] The contemporary era is an era of revolutionary renewal of the world, free of national and social oppression. It is characterized by steady strengthening of progressive forces: the world socialist community — mighty bulwark of socialism, democracy and peace; the international revolutionary movement, the center of which is occupied by the worker class, the most progressive class of the present day; the movement of fighters for the national and social liberation of peoples.

The 26th CPSU Congress once again confirmed the resolutions of the 24th and 25th congresses on the most important current problems of the world revolutionary process.

An important role in the international revolutionary-liberation movement is played by Africa,¹ the peoples of which are going through an important and critical period in their long history, a period of total liberation from colonial oppression, gaining of genuine socioeconomic independence, the elimination of centuries of backwardness, and the forming of new societal relations.

The economic and social backwardness of Africa is first and foremost a result of long years of rule by colonialists and imperialists. For a period of 500 years Africa comprised, to use the expression of Karl Marx, "A hunting preserve for Negroes...."² In this article the author has endeavored to address certain problems of the international Communist and national liberation movement, connected chiefly with Tropical and Southern Africa, which is populated by peoples of the Negro race, proceeding from the position that the history of the Arabic-speaking countries of the northern part of the continent is usually viewed as a part of the general history of the Arab East.

* * *

At the dawn of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, founder of the Communist Party and the world's first socialist state, and leader of the international worker class, predicted the inevitable advance of revolutionary storms, as a result of which the disgraceful system of colonial slavery would be

swept from the face of the earth. The crisis of the colonial system of imperialism began with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the process of growth of the liberation struggle of peoples sharply accelerated.

The victory over Hitlerism in World War II, emergence of a world socialist system, and a mighty upsurge of the worker and democratic movement on a worldwide scale evoked a wave of antiimperialist national liberation revolutions. The disgraceful colonial system created by capitalism also disintegrated under their onslaught. The deeper one goes into the history of human society, the more persuasively and graphically are revealed the grandeur and unfading significance of Marxist-Leninist teachings and the triumph of Leninism -- the revolutionary banner of our era. It is precisely Marxist-Leninist doctrine which opened up for the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries the possibility and prospect of liberation from oppression and exploitation.

The collapse of colonialism in Africa is a historic achievement of the African peoples, the world liberation movement, and all of progressive mankind, and nothing will ever again prevent the total annihilation of colonial oppression. The Leninist prediction of the inevitability of enlisting the majority of the earth's population in the struggle against all forms of exploitation, for the economic, social and spiritual liberation of peoples from bondage has been confirmed, "when the aroused peoples oppressed by imperialism will finally wake up, and when a decisive, long and difficult battle for their liberation will begin."³ The countenance of the African continent has radically changed precisely as a result of such a struggle. More than 50 young national states have entered the political arena, the peoples of which, to use V. I. Lenin's expression, were kept outside the pale of history for centuries by the colonialists.⁴

The anticolonial, antiimperialist revolution in Africa is an important component part of the world revolutionary process. It is taking place in conditions whereby socialism has become the decisive factor of historical development; its successes are inseparably linked with powerful support on the part of the forces of socialism on a worldwide scale. The imperialists are endeavoring by all means to hold the African countries in their orbit and to prevent expansion of their relations with the socialist nations and with the world liberation movement. In other words, imperialism is attempting to halt the advance of the liberation struggle, to preserve and strengthen its position on this continent. The imperialists are now employing neocolonialist methods of economic, political, and ideological penetration and enslavement. The principal goal of the imperialist monopolies is to impose on Africa a new form of exploitation and oppression -- neocolonialism.

African patriots are still faced with a stubborn struggle for total liberation of the continent. Today the national liberation struggle in Africa is developing in two main directions. First, the struggle to expel the colonialists from their last possessions on African soil, for the total and final eradication of racism and apartheid -- the worst form of colonial oppression -- is steadily broadening; second, in those countries which have achieved political independence, the national liberation revolution is deepening, entering a new stage -- the stage of struggle for consolidation of political and achievement of economic independence.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism noted that "economical production and the building of a society in any historical era, inevitably proceeding from it, form the basis

of its political and intellectual history."⁵ Successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the African liberation movement depends first and foremost on correct choice of paths of socioeconomic development. Revolutionary experience has already demonstrated that under present-day conditions to complete the national liberation revolution on this continent means to lead the African countries onto the path of noncapitalist development, that is, onto the path of building socialism.

Thus the strategic task of progressive forces in Africa consists in, while continuing the struggle for total national liberation, directing it against capitalism -- a system which is incapable of providing the African peoples either with independence or progressive social development. And indeed, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the formation of a world socialist system have most directly influenced Africa as well.

Marxist parties have emerged on the African continent. At the present time 10 Communist and worker parties are operating in Africa, counting more than 70,000 Communists in their ranks.

Of course the African Communist parties are small in membership for the time being, not yet having become sufficiently mass organizations. But "the party," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is the conscious, progressive stratum of the class, its vanguard. The strength of this vanguard is 10, 100 times and more greater than its numbers."⁷ And if the Communists of Africa are breaking a road with such difficulty and so slowly toward the cherished dream of the working people of Africa -- the building of a society which is free of oppression and man's exploitation of man, it is not the Communists who are to blame, but rather those complex conditions which were established in the course of historical development, as a result of the fact that for centuries the colonialist oppressors were sitting on the shoulders of the talented African peoples."

An important achievement of the national liberation revolution in Africa is the emergence of revolutionary-democratic parties. In the absence of a broad proletarian movement, revolutionary-democratic parties are currently playing a leading role in the countries of socialist orientation. We are witnesses to the fact that throughout the world interest in the ideological legacy of V. I. Lenin -- a titan of revolutionary thought and action -- is continuing to grow.

The first worker class party on the African continent was the South African Communist Party (SACP), which was formed in July 1921. It has played and continues to play in our time an important role in propagation of the ideas of scientific socialism and in the creation of Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in South Africa and on the continent as a whole. It has experienced a glorious road of revolutionary struggle.

An important landmark in the history of the liberation movement in the southern part of the African continent was establishment of the International Socialist League in 1915. It was founded by W. G. Andrews, D. A. Jones and S. P. Bunting. Acquainting Africans with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the International Socialist League applied these ideas to South African realities.

In spite of isolation from the Communist and worker movement of Russia and other countries, the League found the opportunity to express sympathy and moral support

to V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks during the period of preparation for and subsequently conduct of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In January 1920 the International Socialist League made the decision to join the Third Communist International. On 30 July 1921 representatives of the League and other Marxist groups from all over South Africa gathered in Capetown for their first congress. At the proposal of A. Jones and his comrades, the congress adopted a resolution calling for establishment of the South African Communist Party. On the basis of the "21 conditions" of the Communist International, the new party joined the Comintern and became its African section.

A party manifesto (program) and party rules were adopted at the congress. The program called for redistribution of landholdings, with the aim of providing land to agricultural workers and land-starved farmers. Importance was attached to a point calling for establishment of an 8-hour workday, and a 6-hour day in hazardous or deleterious branches of production, and importance was attached to questions pertaining to elimination of color barriers, offering Africans equal rights in all places of employment, in societal affairs, in social security, medical care, etc. Adoption and subsequent dissemination of an extensive program of social-democratic reforms boosted the prestige of the Communists and stepped up the struggle of the people against the racist colonialists and for creation of a genuinely democratic republic. The strike movement grew in South Africa, and trade unions began to be established, uniting working people of non-European origin. The Communist Party sought to work in the trade unions independently of whether they contained European or non-European workers. The Communists took active part in establishment of a huge trade union organization -- the Union of Workers in Industry and Commerce. One of the leaders of the Communist Party, W. Andrews, was elected first secretary of the Congress of Non-European Trade Unions.

Creation of the South African Communist Party under conditions of an upsurge in the national liberation movement in Southern Africa and throughout the continent awakened the revolutionary consciousness of the worker masses and exerted enormous influence on development of the struggle for national and social liberation of the African peoples.

In the first years of its existence, however, the Communist Party was unable to formulate a clear-cut program on a number of major questions of strategy and tactics, and particularly on the nationalities question. Primarily whites were joining the party. It is true that by 1924 the Communist Party did achieve some success in strengthening its contacts with the native population. The composition of the party also began to change.

An exceptionally important role in the history of the SACP was played by the Sixth Comintern Congress, which specifically discussed the situation in the Union of South Africa and the Communist Party. The Comintern recommended that the SACP work more actively with the African masses and conduct a vigorous struggle for the creation of a free, independent, democratic republic.

During World War II the South African Communist Party, as all the world's Communist parties, mobilized the working people for the struggle against international fascism and domestic racist reaction. The vigorous antifascist activities of the Communists enhanced the prestige of the Communist Party, the ranks of which grew appreciably.

After World War II came to an end, the Communist Party called upon working people to intensify the struggle against the racist regime which had been established in that country.

The political policy line and activities of the South African Communists enjoyed the most vigorous support from the overwhelming majority of the population of the Union of South Africa.

In 1950 the fascist Malan government adopted the "Law on Suppression of Communism and Prohibition of the Communist Party." The Communist Party Central Committee adopted a decision to disband the party. Announcing this decision to party members, the Central Committee of the SACP explained to them that the decision was merely of a tactical nature and that the cause of communism in South Africa would continue to live.

Soon after disbanding of the Communist Party, (Moses Kotane, John Marx, Yusuf Dadu, Michael Kharmel) and other party leaders proceeded to reestablish illegal party organizations. Operating underground, the Communists also made every effort to utilize legal possibilities for their work. They continued to maintain active contacts and close cooperation with the African National Congress and other national liberation and progressive organizations. Toward this end, the Communists took active part in preparing for and holding a congress of all the country's progressive democratic organizations. The congress was held on 26 June 1955 in Kliptown (a suburb of Johannesburg).

In 1956 South African Communists announced that a reborn Communist Party was operating in that country. In response to this, the racist government intensified the policy of apartheid and embarked upon another campaign of repression against progressive forces.

In these conditions Communists and democrats concluded that it was necessary to prepare for armed struggle against the oppressors. Establishment in 1961, on the initiative of Communists of the military organization "Umkonto we Sizwe" ("Spear of the Nation"), signified that henceforth the liberation movement would seek to achieve its goals not only by political methods but also through armed struggle, answering violence with violence.

The period of the 1960's and 1970's is characterized for the SACP by activation of the antiracist, revolutionary struggle on the one hand, and on the other hand by the fact that numerous assaults by imperialist and anticommunist reaction were delivered against the Communist Party and other detachments of the national liberation movement.

An enlarged plenary session of the SACP, held in November 1979, dealt with current problems of the situation in the Republic of South Africa and elaboration of the tasks of struggle by the Communists and other revolutionary forces for national and social liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa. The plenum assessed the situation in the Republic of South Africa as favorable for further activation of Communist Party activities. It was noted that the national and class consciousness of the African masses had risen to a new level following broad popular demonstrations against apartheid in Soweto.

In addition, the plenum acknowledged the necessity of continuing the training of military cadres and the mounting of combat operations in urban and rural areas, proceeding from the position that in the final analysis the racist regime can be overthrown by force of arms.

Fraternal relations bind the SACP and the CPSU. In his address at the 26th CPSU Congress, Moses Mabida, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, stated: "CPSU congresses constitute most important events in the life of the Soviet people and in the history of the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces."¹⁶

The fighting vanguard of working people in Southern Africa also includes the Communist Party of Lesotho. Creation of this Communist Party was a result of the existence of a fairly substantial stratum of worker class and semiproletarian masses, as well as the difficult material and social conditions of the overwhelming majority of working people. At the same time establishment of the Communist Party of Lesotho constitutes persuasive evidence of growth of the political consciousness of the Basuto people and their active struggle for their rights, against social oppression, and is an indicator of the further spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas in Africa. The very emergence of a Communist Party in a small country which was backward in all respects constituted a highly noteworthy event.

The goal of the Communist Party of Lesotho is to transform that country into a sovereign, democratic nation.

New parliamentary elections were held in Lesotho on 21-25 January 1970. They took place in an atmosphere of growing dissatisfaction on the part of the broad masses with the neocolonialist Jonathan regime. In spite of all his election machinations and juggling of the vote, the opposition parties, supported by the majority of the population and the country's progressive organizations, particularly the Communist Party of Lesotho, dealt a decisive defeat to the ruling National Party. Jonathan and his foreign patrons, however, announced the election results to be invalid. A state of national emergency was declared. This coup also dealt a serious blow to the Communist Party: it was banned on 7 February 1970. At the present time the CPL is in a semilegal status, as it were. The party is drafting a new program, which corresponds to the developing situation in that country and the struggle of the working people for their vital interests and for replacement of the neocolonialist regime with a government of national independence.

An important place in the struggle of the African peoples for national and social liberation is occupied by the Reunion Communist Party, which is compelled to operate in a difficult environment. The island of Reunion, just as Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane, is one of France's last colonial possessions. It is situated in the Indian Ocean, an island of the Mascarene group, and gravitates toward the African continent in every respect.

The Reunion Communist Party (RCP) was organized in May 1959 as a branch of the French Communist Party, which had existed on the island of Reunion since 1947. The First (Constituent) Congress of the RCP, held on 17-18 May 1959 in the town of Port-des-Galets, adopted a resolution to establish an independent Reunion Communist Party. The congress resolutions noted that establishment of an independent Communist Party did not signify termination or weakening of ties between the RCP and the

French Communist Party, which have deep roots. Therefore the fraternal cooperation between the French and Reunion Communists is growing stronger and expanding.

The RCP Program specifies the ways to achieve liberation of the Reunion people from colonial exploitation and oppression. The Communist Party believes that under present-day conditions the people of Reunion, in order to gain liberation from the colonial yoke, should first of all gain the right of democratic self-government, that is, "genuine autonomy" within the framework of union with France, with which Reunion is linked by historical and economic bonds of cooperation.

At the present stage of the anticolonial struggle the program does not advance the demands of independence for Reunion, since this would be in conformity "neither with historical conditions nor the present aspirations of the people." The Communist Party views gaining autonomy, however, as a stage on the road to self-determination.

The program of the Reunion Communists specifies a number of political and socio-economic reforms, which must be given priority after achieving autonomy. The Communists believe that their implementation will help eliminate backwardness, raise the living standards of the working people, secure genuine democratic freedoms, and raise the cultural level of the people inhabiting this island.

One manifestation of the respect held by the Reunion Communists for the CPSU and the Soviet people is the statement contained in the address by (P. Verzhes) at the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties that proletarian internationalism "signifies first and foremost a struggle against anti-Sovietism at all times and in all places, since peoples should bear in mind what they owe to the October Revolution and should remember the innumerable sufferings and sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union during the civil war and the sacrifices borne by them for the sake of victory over fascism during the Great Patriotic War, the sacrifices and deprivations during the period of building the foundation of a socialist society. Each party, proceeding from the attitude of the people of its country toward the Soviet Union, can assess for itself whether it has carried out its international duty with honor."²⁰

As regards Tropical Africa, two political parties adopting Marxist programs were established here at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's: the African Senegal Independence Party, and the Socialist Party of Nigerian Workers. Tropical Africa is the economically and culturally most backward part of the continent. The majority of countries in Tropical Africa which gained national independence became sovereign national states before nations were formed. This fully explains why the Communist and worker movement did not enjoy any significant development here.

The African Senegal Independence Party -- actually the first Marxist party in Tropical Africa -- has been operating under the difficult conditions of constant persecution by the authorities.

The African Senegal Independence Party emerged during the period of existence of the Federation of French West Equatorial Africa. It promoted the development of the national liberation struggle and did a certain amount of dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in other African countries which were former French colonial possessions.

The youngest Marxist party in Tropical Africa is the Socialist Party of Nigerian Workers (SPNW).

The Socialist Party of Nigerian Workers was established at a constituent conference held in Lagos in August of 1963. The SPNW manifesto adopted at the conference constituted a program document which defined the party's character as a party of working people, which is guided by the ideas of scientific socialism, and the aim of which is establishment of a socialist Nigeria.

The government of (A. Ironsi), which came into power in January 1966 as the result of a military coup, abrogated the constitution, dissolved the parliament, and banned activities by all political parties, including the Socialist Workers Party. The SPNW was illegal for a period of 13 years. At the beginning of 1979 political parties were once again permitted to operate legally in Nigeria: they were given the right of free existence, but under the condition that they be recognized by the Federal Election Commission (FEDECO). The SPNW, however, did not receive this right and, although technically not outlawed, in fact was deprived of the possibility of operating legally. Under these difficult conditions Nigeria's Marxists, guided by the principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings, continue to hold a firm position in the just struggle by all tribes and ethnic groups for democracy, peace, and social progress.

In 1978 a noteworthy event took place on the African continent: a conference of representatives of Communist and worker parties of the countries of Tropical and Southern Africa was held. The conference drafted and adopted a document entitled "For Freedom and Independence, for National Rebirth and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and Southern Africa." "African Communists," the document emphasizes, "formally declare that they comprise an inseparable part of the international worker, national liberation and Communist movement and are sincere friends of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all countries of socialist orientation (my underline -- P. M.), that they have been and always will remain active fighters for a solid and inviolable alliance between the African liberation movement and the socialist world, with the international worker class and the national liberation movement on all continents, that they have been and will forever remain consistent internationalists and patriots, dedicated to their peoples and their countries."²³

At the present time countries of socialist orientation, in conformity with the level of socioeconomic development and the character of governmental-political institutions, are improving their governmental system step by step, bringing it closer to a state of a socialist type. This process is connected with and is directly dependent on the ruling parties. In a number of countries of socialist orientation, alongside further strengthening of revolutionary-democratic parties, there is occurring the process of their gradual development into parties of a Marxist-Leninist type. The program documents of our parties correctly state that scientific socialism, that is, Marxism-Leninism is the ideological basis of their activities.

These include first and foremost such parties as the Congolese Labor Party, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola -- the Labor Party.

The Congolese Labor Party is the ruling party of the People's Republic of the Congo, which was one of the first to embark upon the road of noncapitalist development.

It attaches great importance to study and dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and defense of these ideas in the struggle against the foes of scientific socialism and implementers of a bourgeois, neocolonialist ideology.

The MPLA-Labor Party Rules precisely formulate the party's strategic objectives: "Building of a socialist society... through the transition stage of a people's democracy." At the present time selection of new party members is taking place throughout Angola, in implementation of the resolutions of the MPLA-Labor Party congress held in December 1977, which adopted a program and party rules. The party is accepting into its ranks the most worthy representatives of the worker class, the working peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia. Since the first party congress hundreds of primary party organizations have been formed in the cities, towns and villages, at factories and construction sites, on state farms and cooperatives, and in subunits of the People's Armed Forces (FAPLA). Considerable attention is devoted to regular study of the Marxist-Leninist theory legacy. In his address at the 26th CPSU Congress, José-Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, stated: "In the specific conditions of Angola, our party is gradually becoming established as a Marxist-Leninist party."²⁴

FRELIMO -- the Mozambique Liberation Front -- proclaimed the building of socialism as its program goal and Marxism-Leninism as its ideology. Implementing the resolutions of its first congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, FRELIMO is unswervingly achieving organizational and ideological consolidation.

The Ethiopian revolution is going through a new stage on the road toward building a popular democratic society. Ethiopia's Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) issued a decree pursuant to which a special Commission for Organization of a Worker Party was established. This PMAC document specifies the structure, goals, tasks, powers and duties of the central and local executive agencies of the Commission, as well as the rights and obligations of future members of the new party. The Commission is presently vigorously engaged in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teachings throughout the country. The Commission called for all-out assistance in establishing fraternal relations with Marxist-Leninist parties, liberation movements and other democratic organizations, in order to make it possible for the future party successfully to carry out its internationalist obligations. "Ethiopian revolutionaries and working people," stated Haile-Mariam Mengistu, chairman of the PMAC of Socialist Ethiopia and chairman of the Commission, from the speaker's stand at the 26th CPSU Congress, "proceeding along the path of Lenin and the Great October Revolution, marching shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, consider themselves to be a component part of the world socialist system."²⁵

Of course the Ethiopian comrades are cognizant of the fact that organization in that country of a party of the Marxist-Leninist type is not a simple act, that there lie ahead of them a persistent struggle and hard work in order to create all the required prerequisites and conditions for holding a constituent congress to organize a ruling revolutionary party, the historic mission of which will be total liquidation of the vestiges of feudalism, imperialism and bourgeois bureaucracy, and creation of a socialist Ethiopia in the full meaning of the term.

Organization of a unified ruling party on the ideological foundation of Marxism-Leninism also constitutes today the principal task of the revolutionary forces of the People's Republic of Madagascar, which presently are part of the National Front

for Defense of the Revolution, a leading role in which is played by the AREMA Party and ACFM -- the Madagascar Independence Congress Party.

Evolution of revolutionary-democratic parties in the direction of recognition of Marxist-Leninist teachings as the principle of organizational and ideological activities insistently advances the task of further broadening and deepening the fraternal cooperation of two most important ideological-political forces, Communists and revolutionary democrats. As is well known, Communists have never sought and are not now seeking a political monopoly and are not guided by any selfish considerations. They are clearly aware that it is precisely an alliance between Communists and revolutionary democrats which is an essential precondition for successful development of the African countries along the path of national independence and social progress.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is constantly concerned for the all-out strengthening of cooperation with Communists, worker, and revolutionary-democratic parties. This is one of the main points of CPSU international policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. The population of this continent was approximately 440 million at the beginning of 1980.
2. K. Marks and F. Engel's, "Soch." [Writings], Vol 23, page 730.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 45, page 362.
4. Ibid., Vol 41, page 233.
5. Marks and Engel's, op. cit., Vol 21, page 1.
7. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 24, page 34.
13. A. Lezumo, "Fifty Fighting Years. The South African Communist Party, 1921-1971," Inkululeko Publications, London, 1971, page 39.
16. PRAVDA, 28 February 1981.
20. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy. Moskva, 1969" [International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties, Moscow, 1969], Prague, 1969, page 746.
23. "Information Bulletin," Peace and Socialism International Publishers, Prague, No 16-17, 1978, page 36.
24. PRAVDA, 27 February 1981.
25. PRAVDA, 26 February 1981.

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3024

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INTERNATIONAL

AZERBAIJANI-JORDANIAN RELIGIOUS TIES STRESSED

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 15 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by S. Geraybekov, candidate of juridical sciences: "The Jordanian Press on Soviet Union Days—A Festival of Friendship"]

[Excerpts] A Center for Scientific Information on the Social Sciences (Ts.N.I.O.N.) is operating in the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR. It carries out scientific research and information projects on a broad range of problems which concern the basic directions of the social sciences, based on materials published in our country and abroad. One of the leading themes of the center is Azerbaijani Studies, abroad. This is a search for and study and generalization of foreign publications on the history, economy, science, literature and art of our republic. The historic achievements of the Azerbaijani people, especially during the years of the 9th and 10th Five Year Plans, arouse great interest abroad and reflect the ever-increasing international prestige of our multinational Soviet state.

Our newspaper will periodically familiarize the readers with statements of foreign authors on the rich cultural heritage of the Azerbaijani people and of its present successes, by means of publishing a variety of materials.

Today we are publishing the first of them—an article on the great success of the Soviet Union Days held recently in Jordan, on the model of the Azerbaijan SSR; the article was written by one of the research fellows at the center.

Soviet Union Days were recently held in Jordan. Our Motherland was represented there by the Azerbaijan SSR. Jordanians received an acquaintance with the achievements of one of the 15 fraternal Soviet republics with great interest...

The recent visit to the Soviet Union of King Hussein of Jordan, and his successful talks in Moscow with the head of the Soviet state, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, imparted a special significance to the Days, held here for the first time at the initiative of the Society for Jordanian-Soviet Friendship.

In the report published in the newspaper "Ad-Dustur" on the reception of the delegation from the Azerbaijan SSR by Chairman of the Senate of Jordan Al'-Tal'huni, it speaks of the speech of the leader of the delegation, Director of the Institute of the Nations of the Near and Middle East of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan Z. M. Buniyatov, who spoke of the broad support of the Soviet people for the just struggle of the Arab nations against the Israeli aggressors. Al'-Tal'huni in turn, the newspaper states, noted how highly Jordan and the entire Arab world regard the principle position of the USSR for solving the crisis in the Near East, and in particular its statements for granting the right of self-rule to the Palestinian people and creation of a sovereign state.

This same idea was consistently stressed in the course of numerous conversations which the members of the delegation from Soviet Azerbaijan held with a number of prominent state and public figures of Jordan.

Many of those who were conversing with the envoys from Azerbaijan attested that the Jordanian people, just as all the other Arab nations, consider the Soviet Union a true friend of the Arabs, who can always rely on them for support and assistance. Jordanian figures and representatives of society spoke highly of the significant new peace initiatives expressed from the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress, on the support of the Soviet people for the just struggle of the Arab nations for freedom and national independence waged against imperialism and its Israeli stooges.

Scientific ties occupy a fitting position in the successfully-developing Soviet-Jordanian cooperation. Ways to deepen and firm up these ties in the future, expansion of contacts between scientists from Jordan and the USSR, including Azerbaijan, were topics discussed at the reception in the royal palace held by Crown Prince Hassan. In his speech the Prince told of the existence of a number of proposals which concern expansion of joint scientific research, and expressed the hope "For the continuation of scientific cooperation between the two friendly nations..." as well as "Confidence in the successful preparation of a working document on cooperation between the academies of science of Jordan and the Soviet Union and between specializing institutions for the purpose of receiving the opportunity to become familiar with the archives of books and manuscripts."

The delegation from our republic accomplished a great deal of fruitful work in the framework of USSR Days. Upon the arrival of the Azerbaijani guests the newspaper "Ad-Dustur" offered its readers a special article devoted to the achievements of the republic: "Soviet Azerbaijan," it wrote, "Is an integral part of the Soviet Union, which in modern history has become a prominent spokesman for unity, brotherhood and friendship among the liberated peoples."

Describing the public appearance of the skilled artisans from Azerbaijan, the Jordanian press, radio and television spoke in the very highest terms of their professional skills.

As is well-known, Jordan is a country whose official religion is Islam. Hence the interest of the Jordanians toward Islam in the USSR is natural. The bourgeois mass-information media are continually lying about the status of believers in the USSR; whereas, recently their slanderous inventions have concentrated on the status of the Moslems. As a result, those people in the developing countries do not always receive

a proper impression of this. From this point of view, the speeches of the Chairman of the Spiritual Administration of the Transcaucasus Moslems, Sheikh-ul'-Islam Hadji Allahshukyur Pasha-Zade, a member of the Soviet delegation, were very significant. The Jordanian press reported on them in great detail. In particular, "Ad-Dustur," quoting an interview on its pages with Sheikh Pasha-Zade, noted his call for Moslems throughout the world to draw closer together with all the peace-loving forces on the planet, and cited the words of the sheikh concerning the fact that in spite of the significant differences in the political systems of the various states, the Moslems of the Soviet Union are striving to firm up friendship with their fellow-believers who live in other countries. A great deal of space was set aside in the newspapers for the remarks of Sheikh Pasha-Zade on the status of Moslems in the USSR and in Azerbaijan; on the absence of any persecution whatsoever on the part of the government of the republic; and on those guarantees of freedom of conscience which are given by the Soviet Constitution.

The festival of friendship in which the USSR Days were cast in Jordan familiarized the citizens of this country with the enormous achievements of the workers of our republic during the years of Soviet power, and with the outstanding original culture of the Azerbaijan people. It has entered a new page in the annals of the friendly relations of the two peoples and states. As the proverb says, "Friends who come to visit decorate the house." Next year, Jordan Days will be held in the Soviet Union, in Moscow and in Baku. Workers of Azerbaijan will be happy to greet in their homes guests from Jordan with the same warmth and hospitality which the republic's envoys felt on the land of ancient Jordan.

9006

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INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL CAMP AT ZAKATALY—Representatives of Vietnamese youth who have completed their studies at the preparatory school of the Azerbaijan Institute of Petroleum and Chemicals imeni M. Azizbekov, yesterday became the first residents of the Friendship International Student Camp. Situated in the picturesque environs of Zakataly at the foot of the great Caucasus mountains, it will be receiving over 200 foreign students from 33 countries this summer. "In this academic year nearly 500 young men and women have mastered the Russian language at our place; they have come to the USSR to study from many of the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America," said Altay Dzhafarli, dean of the preparatory faculty, to the Azerinform correspondent. "For the first time, 15 outstanding Soviet students, komсомol activists, will vacation and work with our graduates. The Soviet and foreign young people will take part in an international scientific conference dedicated to the historic resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and its international significance. The students will meet with outstanding workers in agricultural production, with veterans of the kolkhoz movement, and with delegates of the 26th Party Congress." The plans of the "Friendship" camp include bus excursions to Tbilisi and Mingechaur; visits to the enterprises of the neighboring Belokanskiy, Shekinsky and Kakhskiy Rayons; and acquaintance with the labor and recreation of persons of the same age from the neighboring villages. The students will help the Zakataly farmers cut tobacco and harvest vegetables. Tourist trips are also planned, as well as sporting events with the young people of Zakataly. There will also be many dances and games, and songs of the peoples of the world will be heard in many languages around the campfire. [Text]

[Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 17 Jul 81 p 3/ 9036

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NATIONAL

LEGAL STATUS, SUBORDINATION OF AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS NEED DEFINITION

Moscow KHOZYAYSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 6, Jun 81 pp 13-16

[Article by P. Yermakov, candidate of economic sciences: "Problems of Agro-Industrial Associations"]

[Text] In 1980 140 agro-industrial associations and 604 agro-industrial enterprises, including eight agro-industrial associations and 398 agro-industrial enterprises within the system of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, were operating in the country while the remaining were found under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry.

The proportion of agro-industrial associations and enterprises in the total volume of the production of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the country is growing noticeably. In 1979 they produced 13 percent of the fruit, 9 -- vegetables, 42 -- grapes in the total volume of these products.

In 1979 the volume of the total gross production of agricultural products by agro-industrial associations and enterprises reached 3.7 billion rubles. The area under agricultural use by the above-mentioned formations amounts to 6.3 million hectares. The possibilities of these associations and enterprises, as we can see, are vast. However, they are still being underutilized, the efficiency of their operations differs little from the specialized sovkhoses in a corresponding production structure.

For example, the sovkhoses of the agro-industrial associations of the Ukrainian SSR produced 162 quintals of vegetables per hectare in 1979, and the specialized sovkhoses, not encompassed by the agro-industrial integration, -- 166 quintals. The prime cost of a quintal of vegetables in the same year amounted to 8.6 rubles in the associations, and 9.4 rubles in the sovkhoses.

The results were analagous in viticulture: the yield in the sovkhoses of the agro-industrial associations in the Uzbek SSR was 66 quintals per hectare, and in the specialized sovkhoses -- 70 quintals. The prime cost respectively -- 23.5 and 27.2 rubles.

The lack of coordination between their operational administration and material-technical supply was one of the main reasons for the reduced efficiency of the work of the agro-industrial associations. In this respect it should first of

all be noted that the enterprises and institutions of several departments are included in the composition of the agro-industrial formations, but the administration of these formations is more unilateral, departmental. Either the sovkhozes came under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry or, to the contrary, enterprises of the food industry fall under the jurisdiction of agricultural organs of administration. The formations being created on the basis of such a principle are administered by this or another department with all the consequences and difficulties emanating from such a system with respect to planning, material-technical supply, and so on. All this has made it necessary to create a unified system of management. Now with the formation of the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and a system of corresponding administrative organs in the provinces, these problems are being resolved in a different manner. The agro-industrial associations and specialized sovkhozes are being transferred to their control, that is, they are being placed under a single management. Also the intent is that planning, their material-technical supply, financing, and the granting of credit will be organized from a unified center — the new ministry will possess an exhaustive, absolute power, which is necessary for the effective administration and future development of agriculture. Thus the mechanism of the management and administration of this subsector on the whole is precisely outlined in this particular instance.

But in the sovkhozes and kolkhozes which are not being transferred to the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry approximately 70 percent of the area under cultivation remains for vegetables and up to 90 percent — for potatoes. In the case in question what will become of the construction of a system of administration for newly developed agro-industrial formations which are not included in the ministry? Indeed, the creation of agro-industrial associations and enterprises is bringing about new problems, which so far are not regulated by any existing legislation, including the statute creating the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry. Consequently, it is necessary to work out new legal documents, which would define the legal status, interrelations, and the whole economic work of the agro-industrial formations. A statute on agro-industrial associations and a statute on agro-industrial enterprises, which do not yet exist, could become such standardizing documents. This also results in problems concerning the management of the agro-industrial associations as well as of the more representative intersectorial formations.

The temporary statute on agro-industrial associations worked out by the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry does not fully define the legal status of these formations. The structure and legal limits of the associations as an administrative organ and the legal position of the structural subdivisions are not defined impartially (from the point of view of the other sectors). Therefore, in principle a new formulation of the question concerning the definition of the legal capacity of the associations as a legal entity is necessary.

It is also necessary to resolve other important questions. For example, one encounters contradictory views in legal literature on questions concerning the subordination of agro-industrial associations: some maintain that the associations must be assigned to an economic organ, that is, an organ of administration subordinate to a department, while others maintain that they should be attached to an ispolkom of a soviet of people's deputies. In our opinion, the question

concerning the legal status of these formations determines not only their fate as new associations but also the opportunities for other sectors to participate in them with their own subdivisions. In this connection, it seems to us that the agro-industrial associations should only be created in the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies, which follows from laws in effect, particularly the Law of the RSFSR on the rayon soviet of people's deputies. In it it states that the rayon soviets will participate in the work of determining the specializations of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and will also contribute to the strengthening of contractual relations between the procurement organizations and the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-economic enterprises with respect to the sale, processing, and marketing of products and raw materials. The subordination of agro-industrial associations to organs of Soviet power will provide them with equal rights independent of the hierarchy, and to the sectors participating in them with their own enterprises -- a parity with respect to each other and to the organs of power. The local soviet itself, and not the organs of sectorial administration, will determine how many and the type of agro-industrial associations that must be created in a rayon, oblast, and republic. Organizational questions, material-technical supply, the management of economic ties, control over the fulfillment of plans, and so on can be placed under the jurisdiction of the local soviets. The Ministry of Agriculture will decide, let us say, functional questions connected with the utilization of the land, progressive forms of processing methods, seed-growing, and so on.

The second problem is the question of the formation of an economic mechanism. If the agro-industrial associations are going to be within the jurisdiction of local soviets, taking into account the state plan, a unified, stable, balanced plan of production, procurement, processing, and sales will be worked out for a rayon or oblast with respect to each type of final product. In the event of a change of specialization the local soviet could more precisely define the work of the enterprises included in the associations, including kolkhoz-plants, sovkhoz-plants, and other enterprises, their budgets, and relations with each other (in accordance with existing and established standards and quotas).

In order to strengthen and regulate the financial position of the members of an agro-industrial association, permanent economic incentive funds (production development, socio-cultural measures and housing construction, material incentives, reserve funds, and so on) should be provided for by a statute while taking into account the actual state of their economic system. Moreover, permanent economic incentive funds developed according to the quotas in effect should be adjusted quarterly with increases for the biggest increase in the productivity of labor, improved quality of products in the overall volume of production, and the complete execution of contractual obligations.

Credit for capital investments, limits on contract and design-survey work, and funds for manufacturing, commercial equipment and construction materials are an important factor in production development. The right in the distribution of these funds must be defined in the statute on agro-industrial associations after having turned over its execution directly to the head of an association -- deputy chairman of a rayispolkom by giving banking, financial, and other institutions the authority to limit the development of the material-technical base of sovkhozes,

kolkhozes, canning plants, trading enterprises, warehouses, and so on. An association should also be given the right to distribute and redistribute allocated funds for capital investments in each of its enterprises.

Agro-industrial associations must by statute be given the right to barter (within limits) with the procurement organizations, mixed fodder plants, poultry farms, and trading and other organizations with respect to release, wholesale, and purchase prices.

A standard must also be provided with respect to the right of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, processing plants, and other enterprises of an agro-industrial association to receive compensation for their expenditures (outlay) for the delivery of products and other freight.

In order to ensure the capability of the economic mechanism of an agro-industrial association, it is expedient to change the conditions for accepting agricultural products, presently approved in a unilateral manner; remove from departmental subordination organizations which control and determine the quality of the final agricultural product; review the system of extra charges and stoppages for allowances and discounts on products; work out new criteria for evaluating the work of enterprises and organizations of an agro-industrial association after having accepted on-time delivery and quality of manufactured products and also uninterrupted supply of products to the people as a basis.

The third problem is the interrelationship with the soviet of people's deputies. It is important to direct the work of the rayispolkoms and the permanent commissions of the soviets of people's deputies toward the control and ensuring of the tasks facing the association. Production and the distribution of products, the quality of their processing, the precise, loss-free work of all the links of the association, the creation of necessary working and living conditions for workers in accordance with the socio-economic development plans of each enterprise compiled and introduced throughout the association on the whole are questions worthy of the constant attention of the rayispolkoms. In our opinion, they could periodically evaluate the work of the associations and in certain instances bring questions concerning their work up for review by sessions of the soviet.

However perfect the rayon or oblast agro-industrial associations may seem to us, they are nevertheless in need of an arbitrator. Indeed, this arbitrator may not now be on the permanent staff, but, as they say, is holding more than one office. In this case we are talking about an interdepartmental coordinating council of the region.

As analysis has shown, the production-economic ties that have formed between agriculture and the service sectors bring forth a multitude of complex problems; among them reasons which not only hold back the rate of production but also frequently result in the spoilage or loss of products already received. With respect to this, the work of many sectors is, to a great degree, oriented not toward the achievement of the final result but toward improving their own cost accounting indicators. As a result of the pursuit of their "own" effect, not only is the outcome of agricultural production significantly reduced, but so is the sectorial indicator. Moreover, this tendency can be traced at all levels of the agro-industrial complex.

The basic reasons for this are hidden in the weak, irregularly developing, material-technical base of the participants, above all fruit and vegetable farming, in the lack of coordination between production and economic ties, and in the unjustified direction of capital investments throughout the sectors of the agro-industrial complex. There is presently no precisely defined, scientifically based management of the lower links of the sectorial and territorial system of administration.

Agriculture, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which possess the basic means of production — land, the source of all our wealth — is the chief member of the agro-industrial complex. Consequently, agriculture must fulfill the function of integrator in the system of the complex. Its development predetermines the volumes of production needed by the population. The remaining sectors of the agro-industrial complex should adapt themselves to it, service the integrator, and not to the contrary, as frequently happens today, which results in continuous and universal disproportions in the production and sales of products in daily demand. Industrial planning and also the social and economic development of the rayons and oblasts must also be in agreement with the development plans of the agricultural raw material zones.

In order to eliminate the above-mentioned deficiencies in the management and ensuring of a uniform, balanced economic development of the regions, it seems to us that interdepartmental coordinating councils in corresponding organs of the local soviets are beneficial.

The staff of a coordinating council, its presidium, the chairman of the council, and his deputy could be approved and confirmed by the higher soviet of people's deputies, the ASSR Council of Ministers, and the union republic.

In the event of the creation of an association, for example, for the production and delivery of whole milk and other milk products or fresh meat and dietetic eggs along with a fruit and vegetable association in a rayon, oblast, kray, and ASSR the first and subsequent interdepartmental coordinating councils are absorbed into a corresponding section of the oblast, kray, or ASSR interdepartmental coordinating council.

The interdepartmental coordinating council would through its own work promote the highly effective, rhythmic, and precisely coordinated work of the agricultural, processing, transport, trading, and other enterprises and organizations found in the association while pursuing the goal of providing for the year-round supply of products to the people. This goal is achieved by the council by means of coordinating and positively resolving production, supply, finance, and personnel questions arising in the interdepartmental ties.

The confirmation of consolidated plans for the operations of an agro-industrial association and their presentation for registration to a corresponding ispolkom of a soviet of people's deputies could be made a responsibility of the council. Then the plans would be turned over to all the enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of the association for fulfillment.

The council's important tasks would include the coordination of departmental measures throughout the territorial and sectorial specialization and concentration of production, including the creation of new enterprises and organizations according to their production structure; with the help of coordination work the ensuring of a planned, proportionate development of production capacities in all the enterprises in the association; the combining of personal, collective and state interests in improving production and providing the population with products.

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NATIONAL

SUPPLY AND DEMAND PROPER WAY TO REGULATE KOLKHOZ MARKET PRICES

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 81 p 2

[Letter from readers Svetlova, Shevchuk and other residents of Totskoye, Orenburgskaya Oblast, and report from the city market by correspondent of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "Market: Trade or Easy Profit?"]

[Text] Our family, like most city dwellers, does not have a private plot. One has to go to the market for every little thing. But this is what is going on there... A few sprigs of parsley or dill cost 30 to 40 kopecks, a bunch of radishes (6 to 8 pieces), 60 to 70 kopecks and a bunch of onions, 50 kopecks. All this is no luxury, no delicacy. It comes to a point that a small cup of strawberries costs 1 ruble. And if a child asks for it, will one not buy it? But these are enormous prices!

Of course, a person grew these vegetables and invested some labor, but this cup of strawberries or bunch of onions does not cost so much... This is an easy profit! Everybody is outraged and... buys. But should these prices not be regulated in some way?

Our correspondent reports from the city market:

Market counters. Customers go from counter to counter and try to find a cheaper and more appetizing commodity. Those who are behind the counters have their wish: To sell the commodity more expensively and more quickly.

There are many more of the former. I, like the authors of this letter, got the idea: Why price "ceilings" should not be established for radishes, onions, carrots, parsley, celery and other vegetables, without which meat is not meat and soup is not soup? But, having become involved in the affairs and concerns of the market, I gradually began to realize that not everything was so simple. When an attempt was made to restrain price increases at the market by an order, vegetables simply disappeared from the counters.

But perhaps there is another, not administrative, way of lowering the prices of vegetables? Yes, there is. At the Butyrskiy Market in the capital I observed many cases demonstrating a simple principle: The more goods on counters, the lower their prices.

"We have one way of lowering prices--inviting villagers more--which we are doing," Ivan Mikhaylovich Svetlenkin, director of the Butyrskiy Market, told me. "We go to villages, we campaign, we talk about the market and we invite people to live in our hotel... It is a pity that we are not received in a very friendly manner. Farm managers don't want to let people go during a busy season--that's the long and the short of it."

Then perhaps it would be wise for the same sovkhoses to buy products in the localities and to send them to the trade network, to the market? However, this does not exist yet. The question arises: What to do so that the interests of the market and the interests of the farm coincide? After all, we have the same goals--to supply vegetables for city dwellers.

Three state outlets are located next to the Butyrskiy Market. The idea is that they should trade in vegetables and fruits and "choke" the private trader. But, obviously, the stores are not piled high with vegetables.

Parsley, like many other things, in general, fell into disgrace, one can say. Any sovkhos will give a thousand and one reasons why radishes, dill and celery are not received at the trade network on time. Of all the "nos" we will single out the most obvious--there is no desire, there is no interest.

Not long ago our correspondent N. Yefremenko reported from Dnepropetrovsk: "The following sign hangs in store No 1 of the city fruit and vegetable trade organization: 'The store is supplied by the Peremoga Sovkhos. A. I. Vasilenko, sovkhos director. Telephone: 27-80-45.'" The essence of the "field-counter" system is simple like a clear day. A certain sovkhos is attached to every rayon of the city of Dnepropetrovsk. It solves the problem of providing stores with vegetables. There are cities where markets are supplied in precisely the same way. But there are not many of them.

If we think about this, within such patronage relations it would be possible to also come to an agreement about the purchases of vegetables from the population, about their production on sovkhos beds and about prompt harvesting and delivery.

... The Butyrskiy Market is buzzing. Mountains of vegetables! But the prices are too high. I ask a granny about the garlic. Thirty kopecks for a piece. I don't go away and suddenly I hear: "Son, buy for 20 kopecks." The heads are big, each weighing 50 grams.

"Why are you suddenly kinder?" I lean toward the saleswoman.

"They brought garlic to the store!"

True, loaders rolled a cart with boxes to the Dary Prirody stand. Good garlic. Cheap and strong.

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NATIONAL

FARMS' MAIN OPERATIONS DISPLACE SUBSIDIARY ENTERPRISES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by special correspondent V. Somov (Moscow Oblast): "Staying Away from Trouble"]

[Text] "There was once a small subsidiary farm on the central experimental base of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Fodder in the Moscow suburb of Lugovaya. It supplied local inhabitants with vegetables and fruit. Now it is gone, and people sometimes have to go all the way to the city for this produce" (from a letter to the editors).

Old inhabitants remember quite well how the orchard near the institute village blossomed each spring. People took pleasure in its unadorned winter beauty and in its apples and berries in summer and fall, which were then delivered to the children in the kindergarten and to the cafeteria. A vegetable plantation was nearby.

"The cabbage was particularly good," recalls fodder institute laboratory assistant A. Goryacheva, who once worked in the vegetable shop, "the heads were fleshy and succulent. And the tomatoes they grew here were wonderful!"

But now there is neither an orchard nor a vegetable garden near the institute. There are almost no hothouses and greenhouses. The apiary is gone. And it served a dual purpose. After all, the institute's clover fields cannot get along without bees. This is why hives now have to be brought in from outside for the summer.

"It just happened," institute Director M. Smurygin explained, "that the institute was enlarged and the settlement grew. They gradually crowded out the orchard and the vegetable shop. The central experimental base has very little land, hardly enough for its experiments. Besides this, we specialize in raising elite seeds. In addition, we have a dairy farm with extremely productive cows, and they naturally need fodder."

Did the vegetables and the orchard take up much space? From 8 to 10 hectares. And they completely filled the needs of the settlement. What is more, people from all over the district came to the settlement store for the cabbage. Now the reverse is true. The inhabitants of Lugovaya have to go to the nearby cities of Lobnya and Dolgoprudnyy, or even to the capital, for cabbage and carrots.

Unfortunately, the liquidation of "secondary" branches is still being practiced frequently by farms on the pretext of specialization. They dismantle old hothouses, level hen-houses, stop growing vegetables and close down small dairy farms. The farms, hen-houses and hothouses could still be of service to people. After all, no matter how excellent a practice specialization may be, it is still not providing all locations with adequate supplies. Some managers believe, however, that old structures do not fit in well with the industrial image of the contemporary rural settlement. This is the opinion of the director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Fodder.

"See what a marvelous settlement we have here. Multi-story buildings with all of the conveniences and a large selection center. But if we listened to the authors of this letter, we would have goats and sheep grazing on our lawns."

Of course, Mitrofan Andreyevich was joking about the goats. But for some reason I suddenly realized that sheep-breeding has completely disappeared from the Moscow suburban zone. There is not a single sheep farm left. The excuse is that the weather here is supposedly not suitable for sheep. It would be difficult to agree with this argument: For example, the sheep feel just fine on some subsidiary farms in Leningrad Oblast.

There is no question that such rural processes as the specialization and concentration of production are necessary. They will continue to develop and become more pronounced. Most of the vegetables, eggs, milk and meat produced in the Moscow suburbs already come from specialized farms. Some of them are gigantic farms known throughout the nation: the Voronovo Sovkhoz, the Moskovskiy Sovkhoz and the Sovkhoz imeni 50-Letiye SSSR. People come here from everywhere to learn how calves and piglets can be fattened with the aid of industrial methods and how sheep can be raised in enclosed areas. The guests are much less likely to take a look at the dairy farms, which are still standing on these sovkhoses or have been rebuilt. But it is a pity that they do not visit them! They could learn something there too. The specialized giant sovkhoses have not abandoned or discarded their subsidiary dairy branch.

Some people will find the example of the well-known sovkhoses less than convincing. They will say that these sovkhoses have better supplies of equipment and fodder. This could be the case. Let us then take a look at an "average" farm--the Sovkhoz imeni Chapayev in Noginsk. This sovkhoz clearly specializes in dairy farming, and most of its manpower and resources are concentrated in this area. But the people here are in no hurry to get rid of their hen-house, which also earns a solid profit: 100,000 rubles. All this from a "secondary" branch! Or look into the farm cafeteria in the early spring. Fresh cucumbers from the farm's own hothouse are always on the menu.

I recently had a talk with Director V. Golubkov of the Mozhayskiy Seed Sovkhoz. This farm has also kept its hen-house. It cannot compete with modern poultry factories. The structure is old (inherited from a former kolkhoz) and the hens are kept on the floor instead of in cages. Does the hen-house get in the way, does it take resources away from the farm's main operations?

"Not in the least!" the director replied. "It even brings in a tidy profit."

The experimental base of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Fodder, which has several hundred hectares of farmland at its disposal, apparently lacks the potential for the broad-scale development of the production of vegetables and other "non-specialty" products. But it could certainly fill the needs of institute workers and settlement inhabitants for basic foodstuffs.

I think we can all agree that it is not right, after all, to live and work on the land and rely on the city for produce. And there is no point in concealing obviously parasitical attitudes with talk about specialization. This reminds us of what Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his book "Tselina" [Virgin Land]: "In the case of some products, we must keep centralized stocks for rural areas, but why should we keep stocks of potatoes, cabbage or cucumbers? All of these can easily be grown on any farm."

Potatoes, however, often have to be brought into the settlement from other oblasts. In autumn the institute's vehicles travel hundreds of kilometers in search of potatoes. Cabbage is also brought in from the opposite end of the Moscow suburban zone.

"In our country," Leonid Il'ich goes on to say, "we must use every opportunity and every bit of land to increase the output of agricultural products everywhere and put 'rations' on our communal table." It is hard to believe that the institute's experimental base does not have a bit of land for the production of these "rations." After all, there was room for a communal parking garage, which was built on land that was just recently part of the base's agricultural area.

"This is a swampy section, unsuitable for farming," I was assured by the heads of the institute.

But it turned out that it was a field like any other field. It was once divided into vegetable plots. I think that another spot could have been found for the garage, somewhere in a less convenient location.

Another experimental farm is located a few kilometers away from the institute. Were a few hectares allocated for vegetables there, where there is almost ten times as much farmland? No, they were not!

Therefore, it turns out that this is not a matter of not enough land. It is simply that the heads of the institute are a little too confident that the inhabitants of this settlement, located quite near the capital, will not have to go without produce.

Some of the hothouses, where salad greens were once raised, are still standing. But the institute is not even using this opportunity to produce "rations." The hothouses are almost empty, but the settlement store received only rare deliveries of green onions this spring. Cucumber deliveries were even further apart, and once again people had to make a trip to the city to buy them.

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN GOVERNMENT DISCUSSES ECONOMIC ISSUES

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] An Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers session has been held which discussed the results of fulfillment of the State Plan of the AzSSR's Economic and Social Development in the first 6 months of 1981. The leaders of ministries and departments, a number of industrial associations and enterprises and planning authorities participated in the discussion.

It was observed at the session that, guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the propositions and conclusions contained in the report at the congress of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and implementing the tasks put forward by the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress, the republic's working people had in the first 6 months of 1981 achieved a further growth in social production, an increase in its efficiency and the steady fulfillment of the main quotas of the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Industrial workers fulfilled the 6-month plan for the sale of output and the production of the most important products ahead of schedule, on 25 June. R134 million worth of output was sold over and above the plan. Compared with the first 6 months of last year industrial production increased 7 percent against the annual target of 5.4 percent. Labor productivity increased 5.7 percent, and this factor accounted for 81.4 percent of the output increase.

The quota for manufacture of products of the highest quality category was overfulfilled. Their proportion of total production constituted 15.2 percent. The overwhelming majority of the republic's ministries and departments completed the 6 months without lagging enterprises.

The plans of capital construction were fulfilled in the main indicators. Some 18 and 26 percent respectively more capital investments were assimilated and fixed capital commissioned than in the same period last year. The plan for the commissioning of schools, hospitals and vocational-technical schools was accomplished. Facilities of paramount economic importance monitored by the CPSU Central Committee were installed at a preferential rate.

The freight turnover of all types of transport increased 7.3 percent, and there was an increase in retail commodity turnover and the volume of work in consumer service, particularly in rural localities.

Despite objective difficulties caused by weather conditions, the agricultural workers are working successfully in the fields and in the animal husbandry sections. Considerably more vegetables and tea leaf have been surrendered to the state than by this date last year. High indicators have been achieved in the development of animal husbandry. Cultivation of the cotton plant, the orchards, the vineyards and potatoes and fodder procurement are proceeding at a good pace. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses are completing the harvesting of the cereals.

At the same time there are serious shortcomings in a number of sectors, ministries, departments, associations and enterprises. The "Azuprrybkhoz" Administration, the Glavbakstroy, the Baku Tire and Synthetic Rubber plants, the "Azneft" Association, the Kirovabad "Promsvyaz" Plant and others failed to cope with the targets in a number of indicators. Some 3.2 percent of enterprises failed to cope with the sold output quotas in the first 6 months. The largest number of such enterprises is in the Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Local Industry and Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, the State Committee for Viticulture and Winemaking and the "Azuprrybkhoz" Administration.

Over 30 enterprises failed to fulfill the plans for labor productivity growth. Some 22 enterprises failed to fulfill the plan for the manufacture of products of the highest quality category.

There are many enterprises failing to fulfill contractual obligations for supplies of products to the consumers. The biggest proportion thereof is in the Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry and the Ministry of Industrial Construction.

The rate of the harvesting of winter grain crops and grain procurement is lagging in a number of rayons compared with last year, and a lag is being allowed to develop in the cultivation and top-dressing of the cotton plantations. The rate of fodder procurement does not correspond everywhere to the technical potential of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

There are gaps and shortcomings in capital construction. The quota for the first 6 months was not fulfilled at a number of construction sites. The commissioning of certain projects due for completion was disrupted. The plan for the commissioning of preschool establishments was not fulfilled. The capital investments plan was underfulfilled by the ministries of petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, food industry and agriculture and the Bakinskiy Gorispolkom. The Glavbakstroy and Baktonnel'sstroy and certain other organizations failed to cope with the plan for contract work. The activity of the majority of clients, which fail to provide for timely supplies of equipment and special materials for the construction sites, remains unsatisfactory. The republic Gosstroy is inadequately monitoring the quality of construction and installation.

There are also considerable shortcomings in transportation. Irrational use is being made of railroad rolling stock. The republic Ministry of Automotive Transport did not fulfill the 6-month plan for truck haulage and is making irrational use of trailers.

Serious complaints were made about the republic Ministry of Trade, the Azerittifak and the Ministry of Consumer Services. Fulfillment of the public catering plan is in a particularly unfortunate state.

Enterprises of the Ministry of Consumer Services continue to work just one shift and use only half of available capacity. The orders for housing maintenance, dry cleaning, repair of complex household equipment and transport services are being fulfilled extremely unsatisfactorily.

The adopted decree outlines concrete measures aimed at removing the existing shortcomings and ensuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the targets of the third quarter and the entire first year of the 5-year plan. Particular attention is paid to ensuring the precise rhythm of the operation of each enterprise, the unconditional fulfillment of the quotas for labor productivity growth and a reduction in prime production costs, an increase in the output-capital ratio, the on-schedule assimilation of planned capacity, the careful and economical expenditure of material and fuel-energy resources and strict observance of contractual obligations pertaining to supplies of products to the consumers.

The session discussed the results of fulfillment of the republic state budget for the first 6 months of 1981, which was fulfilled 105.2 percent. The income plan was fulfilled for all types of payment, while the expenditure side of the state budget was fulfilled 93.6 percent. Resources for social-cultural measures are being assimilated extremely unsatisfactorily by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education.

The question of measures for a further improvement in the work with the working people's letters and proposals in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress was also examined.

Corresponding decrees of the republic Council of Ministers were adopted on the questions discussed.

The session was addressed by G. N. Seidov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers.

8850

CSO: 1800/833

REGIONAL

RIGA LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by Ye. Tishchenko, procurator of the city of Riga: "Problems Which Must Be Resolved"]

[Text] The further strengthening of socialist rule of law and legal order is an important task in the area of governmental organizational development and the development of socialist democracy. In this country we have long since eradicated organized and professional crime and banditry, premeditated murders for gain are extremely rare, and the total number of serious crimes is declining. This is quite an achievement.

But the party and government are not abating their attention toward strengthening rule of law. In the CC Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev, discussing law enforcement agencies, stated: "The Soviet people are entitled to demand that their labor be maximally effective, that every crime be properly investigated and that the guilty parties be properly punished. Law enforcement agencies will be given the party's full support in this area and, without any doubt, the entire public will give its full support as well."

The proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress as well as a number of party and government decrees dealing with strengthening law and order invariably stress the importance of improving social-preventive measures and the active participation of public organizations in these measures.

Recently a frank and straightforward discussion was held on this subject at a session of the Riga City Soviet, during discussion of a report submitted by the internal affairs administration of the Riga City Executive Committee.

It is true, unfortunately, that there still occur in this city many acts of hooliganism and crimes against the persons and property of our citizens. The campaign to safeguard socialist property is as important today as ever.

It is a well-known fact that the cause of many criminal acts is drunkenness and dissolute behavior. More than half of all serious crimes and almost all acts of hooliganism are connected with the abuse of alcohol. Parasitism remains a serious moral and legal problem, which is hampering the eradication of crime.

All these law violations cause not only material but also moral costs to society. Obviously we must seek to eliminate them through the joint efforts of law enforcement agencies and the public. Considerable work is being done toward this end. Some problems still remain unresolved, however.

In 1966 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, in a decree entitled "On Measures to Step up the Campaign Against Crime," instructed the executive committees of local soviets to install on the outskirts of cities, especially in new development areas, an adequate number of pay telephones, to ensure adequate lighting of streets and parks, building entranceways and stairway landings.

More and more new residential complexes are going up in Riga, but the installation of telephones and provision of street lighting are lagging behind the pace of housing construction.

Since it is impossible for objective reasons to resolve immediately the problems of providing public telephones and street lighting for new-housing areas, we should immediately seek other ways to increase the effectiveness of combating law violations in the new residential areas. In particular, the advisability of establishing fixed-location militia posts alongside mobile militia patrol teams was discussed at the above-mentioned city soviet session.

In my opinion they should operate at night, after the DND [Voluntary People's Militia] goes off duty — from 11 pm to 6 am — and be manned by patrol-post subunits. Such posts could be located at volunteer law enforcement stations or DND headquarters, which close at 11 pm, at ZhER [expansion unknown], school and various enterprise gatehouse facilities, which are empty at night. These facilities have telephones, with only radio communications to be set up.

More resolute measures must be taken against drunkenness. We have yet to properly regulate sale of alcoholic beverages. And yet large quantities of wine and vodka are consumed in this city, and they are sold literally everywhere. Last year a study conducted by the procuratorship established that on Maskavas Street, for example (up to No 264), alcoholic beverages are sold in 27 stores, cafes, restaurants, and snack bars.

We must also be concerned by law violations committed by teenagers. At the present time certain efforts are being made to improve youth leisure time activities in their neighborhoods. This is very important. These efforts must be stepped up, with employment of various forms and utilization of all reserve potential. Many ZhER complain, for example, of a lack of facilities for teenager activities and yet unused vehicle passageways could be adapted without much expense — there are your facilities.

According to the statistics, most law violations are committed by teenagers in the evening and at night. Therefore it would be advisable to draft regulations specifying a curfew for minors, as well as the administrative responsibility of parents whose children remain on the streets and in apartment building courtyards after curfew.

Finally, we must level criticism at the internal affairs administration of the city executive committee and the departments under it for a patently inadequate campaign against such antisocial manifestations as profiteering.

For example, for a period of more than 2 years several students at a certain Riga higher educational institution were buying up in Riga various consumer durables which are in demand and mailing them to Magadan for resale by accomplices at a profit. A flourishing "black market" in books is going unpunished. We know of many instances of profiteering in vodka during the evening and night hours.

These are a few comments on specific measures which in my opinion should be taken to achieve further strengthening of rule of law in our city. This of course by no means excludes the performance of many other measures of an indoctrinational and organizational character.

3024

CSO: 1800/643

REGIONAL

ECOLOGY PROBLEMS IN PAVLODAR-EKIBASTUZ TPK DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

Alma Ata VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR in Russian No 6 , Jun 81 pp 60-64

[Article by Ye. V. Gvozdev, academician of the KASSR Academy of Sciences: "Environmental Protection Problems Because of Development of Ekibastuz Power Engineering Complex*"]

[Text] Modern scientific and technical progress, while guaranteeing the economic development of society, at the same time makes it more difficult to maintain nature in its natural wealth. We are witnessing how fast pollution is rising in the atmosphere and individual reservoirs, the soil cover is breaking down, the population of wild animals, birds, reptiles, fish and other animals is declining, the vegetation is becoming sparser, and the ecological systems and individual biocenoses are disrupted. Numbers are cited more often on the reduction in reserves of mineral raw materials which play the main role in further scientific and technical progress.

But it is also known that the existence of man, like of all animals inhabiting our planet, is guaranteed by definite conditions formed for millions of years which promote the normal course of physiological processes and constant interaction between man and animals and the environment. Therefore even slight deviations in the condition of natural conditions should be taken into consideration so that measures can be taken in time to restore the grossly disrupted natural systems and protect the environment.

Questions of environmental protection and efficient use of its resources are not raised more widely anywhere than in our country. They have been the focus of attention of the Soviet state since the first days of its existence. V. I. Lenin took all measures so that by placing natural resources at the service of the people, they would be used prudently, on a strict scientific base.

The new USSR Constitution has proclaimed that in the interests of the present and future generations, the USSR is taken measures for the protection and scientifically substantiated, efficient use of the earth, its resources, water resources, plant and animal world. Actions thought out in advance and thoroughly planned, especially under conditions of a socialist society, multiply the resources of the earth, normalize the environment, beautify and enrich the landscapes, and immortalize for the progeny all that is excellent and the riches of nature.

* Abbreviated text of a report given on 25 November 1980 in Pavlodar at the republic scientific and practical conference "Problems of Forming the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz Territorial Production Complex."

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress defined as one of the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan a precise program of work for the further normalization of the environment, in particular, development and implementation of measures using the latest scientific and technical resources for the use of natural resources, monitoring the condition of the environment and the sources of its pollution, and reduction in the adverse effect of wastes on the environment. "We can use nature in different ways," stated L. I. Brezhnev from the tribune of the 25th CPSU Congress, "We can, and the history of mankind knows many examples of this, leave behind barren spaces hostile to man. But we can, and need, comrades, to improve nature, to help nature to reveal its vital forces more completely." We must start from here in solving problems associated with development of natural resources.

The creation of the largest fuel and energy complex based on the development of the Ekibastuz and Maykyubenskiy lignite fields is associated with the resolution of a number of complicated scientific and technical questions that refer to the examined problem. Stripping operations disrupt considerable areas occupied either by natural communities, or sown with agricultural crops: accumulations of unusable rock, dumps and waste piles are formed. It is the primary task of the production engineers to stipulate in advance in the drafts and plans the necessary recultivation of the dumps and disrupted land. It is the business of the scientists, the botanists and soil scientists, hydrogeologists, geologists and miners to formulate recommendations for the most applicable, efficient and inexpensive recultivation of the disrupted territories. A lot has already been done in this respect. The institutes of soil science and botanics of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, for example, are working on the problem of using dumps for planting bushes and trees. Scientific research in this direction needs to be expanded even further so that the achievements of science are introduced more rapidly and efficiently into the practice of environmental protection in the areas of the greatest influence of anthropogenic factors on it. More decisive measures are also required from the production engineers. The already formulated recommendations must be employed more extensively and rapidly.

An important factor in the efficient use of open pit territories is also preliminary removal of the fertile soil layer with its subsequent use in the recultivation of these lands.

From the position of the protection and efficient use of natural reserves, it is important to take into consideration the comprehensive use of mineral-raw material resources of the Ekibastuz coal basin. Many scientific research and planning institutes are working on these questions. The developments which have already been made convincingly confirm the basic possibility of industrial processing of the rocks of the inner strip pit, enrichment tailings, and the ash from burning the Ekibastuz high-ash coals.

Studies of the NIITsement [State All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Cement Industry], VNIISTROM [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Building Materials and Structural Parts], GIPROTSEMENT [All-Union State Planning and Scientific Research Institute of the Cement Industry] and other institutions have proved the possibility of using the ash obtained from burning coals in the Ekibastuz GRES, as a mineral additive in cement production, and as a filler in making silica brick and light heat-resistant concrete. This ash, as shown by the studies of the Institute of Metallurgy and Enrichment of the KaSSR Academy of

Sciences, can be, and evidently, even needs to be used to produce alumina, and this means, also aluminum and certain rare metals, for example gallium and vanadium. The work of the Institute of Fuel Minerals of the Ural NIICHERMET [Scientific Research Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy] has established the possibility of producing from rock of inner strip pits a silicon-aluminum alloy which can be used as a deoxidizing agent in the production of steels.

Production tests at the Cherepovetsk metallurgical plant demonstrated that deoxidizing by silico-aluminum produces steels in accordance with the GOST requirements, and even has a number of advantages as compared to deoxidizing by aluminum and ferrosilicon.

The Institute of Metallurgy and Enrichment of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences has successfully done work to produce metal aluminum from the Ekibastuz coal ash.

Currently over 60 institutes and planning organizations are working on the problem of using the mineral part of Ekibastuz coals. A number of studies have covered the production of gallium, energy-accumulating substances, highly effective coagulants for production of construction ceramics, light heat-resistant concrete, ash gravel, porous fillers and other materials for construction purposes. Despite the considerable work on the complex use of the components of the Ekibastuz coal fields, this problem is the cause of serious concern since the plans provide for construction of enterprises to use only a slight part of the inner strip pit rock, ash and slags. At the same time, the calculations show that when the rated output is reached, 11.3 million tons of country rock will be removed each year, and during the combustion of coals at the planned Ekibastuz GRES, 30-35 million T of ash will be dumped. Therefore the output of the planned enterprises for processing the stripped rocks and ash must be designed for their complete use in the future, otherwise it will be difficult to solve the questions of environmental protection.

The Ekibastuz coal fields are being worked by open-pit method with a drastic change in the natural environment in the extraction regions where the open pits alone comprise an area of about 17,000 ha. The territories adjacent to the open pits will undoubtedly be polluted with dust and gases of the mining enterprises, and the hydrogeological regime and sanitary-hygienic conditions of the locality will be disrupted. It is the immediate task of the scientists to conduct definite studies, to foresee the negative consequences of these changes in nature, and to be able to prevent them.

Protection of the air basin from pollution, i.e., the atmospheric air, plays an important role. The greatest attention is currently focused on this question. It is enough to quote the recently adopted law on protection of the atmospheric air. For the first time, requirements are being stipulated for establishment of standards of maximum permissible emissions of pollutants into the atmosphere. This, of course, will increase the responsibility of the leaders of the enterprises for maintenance of air purity.

Because of the rapid development of Ekibastuz, the outputs of the existing TETs are rising intensively. However, by the conclusion of the oblast sanitary and epidemiological station (SES), the increase in TETs output is being done without the radical solution of the question of protecting the atmospheric air. The KaSSR

Ministry of Power and Electrification and the planning institute "VNIPIEnergoprom" have not paid attention to the requirement of the Pavlodar oblast SES regarding the need to reconstruct the existing low-efficiency ash-traps, electrical filter units, increasing the height of the smokestack corresponding to the calculations for scattering emissions, and other measures. This situation, of course, cannot help but cause concern for the future of the air basin in Ekibastuz.

Taking into consideration the switch to bulk recovery of the Ekibastuz field, the Ekibastuz GRES's are designed to burn coal with ash content to 55%. Correspondingly, at the same time the combustion of sulfur is increased and about 200 T/h of sulfur dioxide will enter the air. Methods of trapping the nitric oxides have not yet been developed and the possibility of suppressing their formation during coal combustion is also not yet clear. In this respect there is food for thought for the chemists and planning organizations. Drastic decrease in the formation of emissions of nitric acids and sulfur into the atmosphere is a task obviously not only and not so much for the production engineers, as for the scientists.

Start-up of the new power engineering facilities makes it necessary to protect the environment from thermal pollution. Experience has shown that exceeding by 8-10°C of the temperatures in the GRES cooling reservoirs versus the maximum natural temperature entails a steady disruption in the biological processes and results not in self-purification, but in self-pollution of the water systems. Algae generally develops in these reservoirs, so-called efflorescence of the water is noted. It inflicts great economic damage, causing overconsumption of electricity. Other biological disorders also develop which affect the natural life of the reservoir.

The Institute of Zoology of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences for the first time in Kazakhstan began hydrobiological studies on the cooling reservoirs in order to clarify the effect of thermal pollution on hydrobiocenoses and to formulate recommendations to eliminate the biological interferences with the use of these reservoirs. Jointly with the Institute of Power Engineering of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, studies have been underway since 1977 on the direct-flow cooling reservoir of the Yermak GRES. It was established that despite the considerable path that the warm water travels on the canal to the channel before discharging into the main bed of the Irtysh (near Pavlodar) it was not completely cooled. It was found that under conditions of a summer with normal temperature regime, no major disorders occur in the hydrobiological regime of the channel, but under conditions of a hot, extreme summer, the water temperature in the channel can reach 36.5°C which has an immediate effect on the biocenoses and results in disappearance of some and considerable reduction in the population of other useful species, in particular, the filterers who play a role in self-purification of the reservoirs.

The appropriate recommendations were issued for the Yermak GRES cooler in time for improvement of the water cooling system and improvement in the biological regime of the cooling reservoir. They must be taken into consideration by the designers.

In the summer of 1979, similar studies were made on the closed-type cooling reservoir of the Ekibastuz GRES-1. In order to control "water efflorescence," the Institute of Zoology of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences recommended using a biological method, raising in this reservoir of certain plant-eating fish, in particular, the

white Hypophthalmichthys and representatives of the Indian fauna buffalo fish. These fish species are capable of significantly suppressing the development of algae and survive the conditions of the cooler fairly well. The available food reserves of the lake can guarantee the formation of a commercial school of these fish. Their food value is higher than of local forms. It is also important not to stop studies to search for the best methods of controlling the thermal pollution of our reservoirs, the more so because their use for fishing purposes will yield a considerable economic effect in the future.

Vegetation plays an enormous role in cleaning the atmospheric air. Our forests and green landscaping are the main suppliers of oxygen to the atmosphere. Therefore, landscaping of cities, workers settlements and industrial facilities is of primary importance. We should be concerned about this even now, especially taking into consideration the rates of construction of all the links in the Ekibastuz-Pavlodar power engineering complex.

The creation of protected forest zones, natural parks, in particular, the Bayanaul national park, preserves and sanctuaries acquires great importance in the Pavlodarskaya Oblast. Our task is to preserve for our progeny and for scientific purposes the standards of natural biocenoses. Study of individual ecosystems now will permit a better prediction, and this means, prevention of those negative changes that could occur on the earth under the influence of anthropogenic factors.

The scale of development of the Ekibastuz power engineering complex raises difficult, but at the same time quite resolvable tasks in controlling pollution of the environment, disorder in the ecological equilibrium in the region, and deterioration of the sanitary-hygienic conditions. One should only predict in advance the negative consequences and rapidly work out countermeasures capable of drastically reducing the consequences of the negative effect on the environment. Unity of science and practice must play the primary role here.

The most significant shortcoming in the use of nature is the branch, narrow-departmental approach to solving a number of the most important questions, including those referring to the Ekibastuz power engineering complex. Questions of the efficient use of the fuel-energy, raw material, water, land and other natural resources are interbranch problems. Therefore environmental protection in the zone of the Ekibastuz coal field with the adjacent territories and industrial centers should be classified as a problem of complex territorial planning, of environmental protection measures which must be coordinated by a single center, in this case, the KaSSR Gosplan, or even better, a special committee for environmental protection. It should be set up under the KaSSR Council of Ministers.

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REGIONAL

TAJIK KOMSOMOL MISLEADS WORKERS ON JOBS IN ROSTOV

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 81 p 2

[Article by V. Merkulov, Rostov-na-Donu, Dushanbe: "Promises Await You"]

[Text] "Idlers" were on their way to a construction job. It is true that they will become idlers later. In the meantime they are ordinary lads with identity cards and labor books, and bearing Komsomol travel authorizations. They were on the long trip from Dushanbe to Rostov, to settle in that unfamiliar city. Glavsevkavstroy Construction Trust No 7 greeted the emissaries of the Tajik Komsomol with great fanfare. One can understand how pleased the welcoming committee was. The trust is building industrial enterprises, housing, and is renovating and building plants, including for the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. Workers are worth their weight in gold to the trust.

And now new workers had arrived. In 1980 52 persons came to the trust on Komsomol travel authorizations. "All of them have become experts at their job and activist public-spirited citizens," we should like to report. Unfortunately, not more than about 10 of the lads from last year's assault force are still working at the enterprise. In February eight more Komsomol members were signed on with Construction Administration-106, but subsequently... all of them were fired for absenteeism. The city on the Don greeted the next detachment from Tajikistan in May. All but one have returned home.

"I cannot understand what the problem is," stated V. Tarasyan, deputy trust manager for personnel and employee services, shrugging his shoulders. "It would seem that we are creating all the necessary conditions, but... for some reason they don't want to work. Strange, but nevertheless true."

"I was not planning on working in your trust," retorted Gaibnazar Khakimov, attempting to justify his actions, not having worked a single day. "I had no idea. The Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Komsomol Committee in Dushanbe gave me a travel authorization which clearly stated: Rostsel'mash."

So that was it. Komsomol rayon committees, in an attempt to meet their quotas faster, sometimes make out Komsomol travel authorizations incorrectly, filling in the wrong employer. Komsomol officials in some rayons in this republic are also guilty of other things. With no grounds for doing so, they promise their fellow countrymen big money, although many of the volunteers have not yet learned a trade.

They are generous with such promises in Isfara, Leninabad, and Shurab. "They deceived us," states Tat'yana Khusnutdinova quite frankly. Umar Idrisov and Kurban Abdurakhimov set out from Rostov for Chita to "make money." Tat'yana Khusnutdinova also set out for parts unknown. They rested from the journey, looked around the city, and went elsewhere....

The fact is that very little is known about Trust No 7 in Tajikistan. The Komsomol rayon committees have no publicity materials on its activities other than the rotaprint terms of employment. Letters requesting personnel stream out of Rostov, but the Don construction people prefer to avoid personal contacts with the young people of this republic. When they were signing up the last detachment of volunteers in May, for example, they urgently requested that a representative of the trust travel to Dushanbe to take a look at the young people in advance and select those who were really needed. They received no answer to this request. Trust Komsomol committee secretary Lyudmila Dodel'tseva happened to see this request "by chance" after the young people had already arrived.

Do the boys and girls not seek to go to Rostsel'mash, which is located alongside the trust, because contacts between the plant and the republic Komsomol are closer? The result is that Komsomol members from our mountain region work out well there. Kasim Nasrullayev, Larisa Satyboldiyeva, Ravilya Zakirova, and Roza Dzheyentayeva have made a fine impression on the plant Komsomol committee. One of the best workers in the Rostsel'mash press shop is a young emissary from Tajikistan, Tat'yana Zakharova, who is now a member of the shop Komsomol committee. But in the trust office I was told time and again that the newcomers are not very hard-working, to put it mildly. Can it be that such different people come from the same republic? Perhaps the reason for the great difference in labor performance by persons from areas with surplus manpower is a difference in attitude toward these people.

"We arrived on a Saturday," related Karim Azizov from Leninabad. "There was nobody at the trust to take care of us. For three days we slept wherever we could. But that is only half of it. At home I was employed as a fourth-category machine operator. The trust assigned me a crane which was not in working order. No matter where I turned, everybody wanted to pass the buck, and at the production equipment administration they told me if I didn't like it I could quit. They say they really need workers. But they certainly don't act like it."

I learned that the young people were promised extremely high earnings not only back home but by the trust as well. In the terms of employment, which list the wage rates, there is not a single one below 170 rubles per month.

"I was told at the production equipment administration where they sent me," stated Rafael' Karimov from Dushanbe, "that I would earn not less than 160 rubles. And yet my very first pay was barely more than one third as much."

I jotted down Rafael's last name and headed for the administration's Komsomol bureau.

"You have a Karimov working here," I addressed deputy secretary Lyubov' Andrushkina. "Is he a Komsomol member?" "He is," she replied, "but I don't have his card."

"Where is it?"

"Search me. I have only seen him on one occasion."

Indifference toward an individual Komsomol member engenders in the latter a response: indifference -- toward his job. B. Belikov, chief of Construction Administration-304, unwittingly confirmed this. I went to his office to find out how the young Tajiks in his administration are doing.

"You are misinformed. I don't have a single one," he stated. "There was one here, to be true, by the name of Sokhibov. Quite a disturbing influence in the administration, constantly yakking...."

Khasan Sokhibov was one of the few who was still working in the trust. Another supervisor, V. Reprintsev, one of the trust's best carpenter-concrete worker brigade leaders, from whom Khasan ultimately requested a job, had to say about him: "He sticks to every job he is given, both carpentry and concrete work. If he continues this way, he will become a fine worker. Sure he likes to talk. So what? He is a very straightforward person. He tells us a lot about his Pyandzh, about Tajikistan."

One realizes from a conversation with Reprintsev that it is not so much that these young people are not capable (after all, they came to this construction project voluntarily, at their own desire) as that the conditions for smoothly incorporating these young people into a large work force still leave much to be desired.

Tajikistan Komsomol has sent 70 persons to Trust No 7. Only a handful were unable to take tough physical labor. Only a few decided simply to "split," to move on and drift about. The remainder were deceived by promises. Now these young people, after traveling to Rostov, are returning home, singly and in groups. This is a defeat for all interested parties. Not only a financial but a moral defeat as well.

3024

CSO: 1800/661

REGIONAL

STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION, SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ISSUES

Baku VYSHEKA in Russian 13 Aug 81 p 1

[Text] The republic newspapers recently carried the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee decree "The Work of Narimanovskiy Rayon's Party, Soviet and Law Enforcement Authorities on Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee 2 August 1979 Decree 'On Improvement in Work on Maintaining Law and Order and an Intensification of the Fight Against Infringements of the Law'", which drew widespread public comment in the republic. It revealed flagrant violations and deviations from the standards of socialist legality in the work of the Narimanovskiy Rayon's Internal Affairs Department, Prosecutor's Office and People's Court and sharply criticized serious shortcomings in the activity of the rayispolkom and raykom in leadership of the law enforcement authorities. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee instituted strict proceedings against the guilty parties and determined specific measures to do away with the shortcomings which had been uncovered.

In connection with the fact that the said shortcomings, omissions and, in a number of cases, serious violations are also to be found in the activity of other law enforcement authorities the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research requested that all communists, Komsomol members and all working people of the republic express their opinions on the problems raised in the decree. It is a question, in particular, of practical proposals to step up the fight against crime and such phenomena alien to our society as the embezzlement of socialist property, bribe-taking, speculation, theft of citizens' personal property, hooliganism and other infringements of the law and of the more extensive enlistment of the public organizations and labor collectives therein. It would also be desirable to receive proposals on an improvement in the work of the militia, prosecutor's office, court and the working people's public formations--the volunteer public order squads, comrades' courts, prevention councils and others--and a strengthening of their leadership on the part of the party authorities and soviets.

It is requested that letters and proposals be sent to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research (Baku, ul. Lermontova, 68).

8850

CSO: 1800/833

REGIONAL

COMPLAINTS ABOUT LOW QUALITY, HIGH PRICES OF FRUIT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by V. Neiburg: "But Where Is the Fruit?"]

[Text] The markets in Termez and Denau are overflowing with peaches and grapes, but the prices being asked are 7-8 times the state prices. State stores, however, hardly sell fruit at all. You cannot find peaches, and grapes are sold very rarely. This is also true with apples and plums.

Cooperative workers of the southern part of the oblast are obviously not doing a proper job with procurement of fruit. It is true that the plan was roughly 50 percent fulfilled. But the pomegranates and persimmons are ripening and with them, of course, it will be possible to make up the shortfall.

What are the cooperative workers buying today? Apples and plums — that is all. The apricot season is past and the state stores had none to sell. There was a good peach harvest, but they were not procured either.

Of course, apples and plums are less trouble if they are picked early. With peaches it is harder; if a truck does not arrive and the fruit do not get to market on time, they will be lost. That is why the procurement workers avoid peaches, a wonderful gift of our southern region.

But nonetheless, why are there so few apples for sale? They go mostly to the canning plant. That is necessary, of course. But why is it not possible to supply both the enterprise and the trade system? It is possible. But once again, it is a lot of trouble, requiring trucks and people.

The procurement workers are not the only ones that should be criticized. The managers of many farms consider orchards to be of little importance. Certainly the figures illustrate this: in Sariasliskiy Rayon the plan for procurement of fresh fruit was only 17 percent fulfilled. But this rayon has outstanding, productive orchards. The foothills, where most of the orchards are located, have excellent conditions for fruit growing. Shurchinskii Rayon did not do much better: 24 percent of the plan. But when you look at the orchards at almost every farm you see trees covered with ripe fruit; all that is needed is to pick it. But they say they have other, urgent work. Who says that fruit procurement is not urgent work?

Angorskiy, Denauskiy, and certain other rayons are also falling behind in procurement of fruit and grapes.

The area of orchards and vineyards in the oblast has been broadened significantly in recent years. This is gratifying. But workers of the cities and rayon centers will value the work done only when they can buy good-looking fruit in the state stores. At the present time, however, they must go to the market.

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REGIONAL

PROBLEMS WITH GETTING PRODUCE FROM FIELD TO MARKET

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yu. Slashchinin: "Problems Moving Vegetables from the Field to the Market"]

[Text] Forty tons of potatoes rotted at the receiving point of the Kirov wholesale-retail office.

This may seem a small incident to some people. A great deal of produce rots, spoils, and is destroyed through poor management. But the point is that there should not be poor managers.

So on behalf of the readers of the newspaper I asked Sh. Urmanov, manager of the receiving point, why the potatoes had rotted?

"We received no railroad cars to ship them in," Urmanov answered calmly.

"Then why didn't you haul them to the city, where they were getting up to 50 kopecks a kilogram for them at the bazaar?" M. L. Pugacheva, chairwoman of the Madaniyat Kolkhoz in Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon, said, joining the conversation. Her voice trembled with indignation. It was her kolkhoz that had delivered 150 tons of early Yarmak potatoes to the receiving point, and one-third of this output ended up in the dump.

Urmanov said nothing. He was confident that it was not his fault: the lack of railroad cars, he felt, was an objective reason. And no one holds him responsible for poor management.

Lack of sanctions gives rise to mismanagement, and it can be seen everywhere at the receiving point.

Here is an ordinary picture. Vegetable growers have delivered their output to the point. It has been unloaded, weighed, and turned over. Then they leave. Common sense says that now the vegetables must be sorted, washed, graded, packaged, and sent to the stores as quickly as possible.

But the receiving point does not do this limited processing; they cannot find time to set up such a shop. In principle this is an elementary conveyor line with workers on both sides who sort, for example radishes and carrots, by size into three boxes, then wash them and cut off the tops. The vegetables processed in this way can be sent to the stores by a truck on a set route, and one may be confident that they will be sold.

No one does this. Route delivery has not been introduced in wholesale vegetable selling. Each store manager, depending on the availability of a truck, drives to the receiving point himself. And until this "available vehicle" appears the vegetables wait there, and slowly spoil.

But why is it not possible to build refrigeration chambers at the receiving point, or to use neutral gases? Nitrogen is one example. Everyone knows of its amazing ability to preserve vegetables and fruit.

During conversation with Mariya Leont'yevna Pugacheva, chairwoman of the Madaniyat Kolkhoz I heard an instructive story which took place last year. She drove to Tashkent and went into a store. She was amazed to see there potatoes only a little larger than peas and onions the size of a clove of garlic. She asked the clerks who was delivering such abnormal produce. They all answered together: the Madaniyat Kolkhoz. They showed her on the sign where it said that this produce had been delivered by the very kolkhoz of which she was manager. At this point the woman exploded in anger. They had never produced such vegetables, she said! Their potatoes were eight inches long, the onions four inches, and tomatoes practically exhibition size.

The kolkhoz chairwoman demanded that the sign be taken down. Indeed, they took it down. But the poor-quality produce remained in the stores. And people do not go to the state stores for vegetables, they go to the bazaar.

But what about the vegetable stores? After all, they have a plan for commodity sales that must be fulfilled.

Strange as it seems, they are reporting fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans. The secret is that most vegetable stores have wine and vodka departments. They easily make up the shortfall on a ton of potatoes with two cases of vodka. So the result is that you can go to the vegetable store to buy alcoholic beverages, but for vegetables you have to go to the kolkhoz market.

And these markets have everything? Take the Alay market for example. Tourist cameras are clicking everywhere, recording the huge piles of melons and onions, the bags of peppers, carrots, and other food. But the tourists are only interested in sights. We have reason to wonder why that old man over there, for example, has 20 boxes of tomatoes? Even a brigade could not harvest that much from a kolkhoz all at once. Can it be true that these huge stacks of produce were gathered by rural inhabitants from their tiny private plots, just one-twentieth to one-tenth of a hectare?

Pugacheva told us the secret of one of these vegetable growers. Their kolkhoz raised a new variety of pepper that had not been seen in the republic before.

She could not find peppers in the state store, but at the Alay market she found an old man selling them. "Where did you get them?" Pugacheva asked. "I raised them myself."

A militia officer was called and wrote up a report. The "vegetable grower" admitted that he had bought up all the pepper at the state store.

But why don't the kolkhozes themselves sell their produce on the kolkhoz market? The very name is "kolkhoz" market. But there is no kolkhoz trade, no one to bring down the bazaar prices.

"We want very much to sell produce there ourselves," Pugacheva responded. "But we are put in unfavorable conditions. Our earnings must be turned over to the wholesale-retail office and they keep the difference between the retail price and the wholesale price. The result is that we haul the vegetables ourselves unload them, and spend our time and effort, but the profit we receive has to be given to the office in order to receive a stamp showing that the output was sold so that it can be included in the record of plan fulfillment."

"Can't anything be done?"

"It could be if there were incentives. We could turn the earnings in to the State Bank and the bazaar committee could certify the state receipts of produce sold with its stamp. But this procedure must be made legal. And the planning must be straightened out."

Indeed, planning is another problem. It would seem that everything here has been considered and provided for, but one factor was overlooked — the yield of the crops. So all the careful calculations come to nothing.

Here is an example. The Madaniyat Kolkhoz received a plan to plant 150 hectares of tomatoes and sell the state 300 tons. This meant that they had to select a variety which would give a yield of at least 20 quintals per hectare. There is such a variety, Volgograd. Of course, the kolkhoz will fulfill this plan. But the city-dwellers will not be satisfied because this is a late variety and the kolkhoz will not be able to market its produce in the spring.

But if the kolkhoz takes an early tomato variety, it will come out behind itself because the early varieties are low-yielding. The Talolikhin variety, for example, produces 12-15 quintals per hectare, so from 150 hectares the kolkhoz members could not harvest 300 tons and would not fulfill their plan.

There are many other problems in vegetable growing and marketing as well. But one thing is clear: they must be solved. And the first ones to be solved should be those mentioned above which, incidentally, do not demand capital expenditures and time. But they will produce a substantial return.

11,176

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REGIONAL

ARTICLE VIEWS DANGERS, SUCCESSES OF PRIVATE PLOTS IN LITHUANIA

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 14 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by T. Doval', SOVETSKAYA LITVA special correspondent: "An Important and Mutually-Advantageous Matter"]

[Text] Somehow from a suburban Vilnius sovkhos a complaint was received at the editorial office with this content: "Our party, government are fighting for the utmost strengthening of private subsidiary plots and here our managers act on the contrary; they have prohibited the construction of greenhouses." In verifying this, however, it turned out that the authors of the letters, as they say, had had one too many. Their greenhouses reached 300-400 square meters (permissible size-20 square meters). Naturally, this brought out the displeasure of the sovkhos management. You see, in order to maintain such "combines" a lot of time and energy were demanded. Some greenhouse owners concentrated all their attention on personal interests, foregoing public ones. It reached a point where qualified workers settled down as... watchmen.

The situation is, of course, an extraordinary and rare one. The majority of the owners of the private plots are people of high labor discipline looking out for the development of kolkhoz and sovkhos production.

"I would derive such a rule," says Viktor Pil'chitsas, secretary of the party organization of the kolkhoz imeni Kostyushko of Trakayskiy Rayon. "As a rule, whoever is a diligent tractor driver, cultivator, milkmaid, will also keep his private plot in order. It is a real pleasure to see what kind of potatoes our people are harvesting from their own piece of land, what kind of steers and pigs they are raising."

The rural resident cannot go without having a cow, chickens, geese or stocking up for winter with vegetables and various meat products. Perhaps those who buy butter and eggs in a store are correctly called lazy-bones.

Let's listen to the reasoning of a distinguished cattle-breeder, veteran of labor S. Ruchinskiy:

"I have two cows, a calf, a sheep, a sow, piglets and chickens. I cannot imagine my yard without all this poultry. Although there is almost no free time left, I am not complaining. I am just not used to being idle. I have four children, I

completely provide for my family with food products and I still have some left to sell. The benefits for us and for the state are obvious. Not so long ago the farm allotted me a coupon for acquiring an automobile. A large amount of money was required to be spent, a considerable portion of it was obtained by delivery to the state of surplus milk, meat and vegetables."

Is it hard to raise a piglet? Ruchinskiy smiles: "For me, a person with a 20-year labor record on a farm, it is very simple. I understand animals, if I can express myself in this way, I know how to look after them and keep them. Most important, of course, if you don't feed them until they are full, you won't get much milk or meat."

The problem of fodder for the private sector: how is it resolved on the farm? Here a rule has emerged: to prepare hay for an individual herd in parallel to the public herd. For a relatively small payment they transport 1.5-2 tons of it at a time by kolkhoz transportation directly to the owners' barns. Thus labor economy is achieved, equipment is better used. We would think, correctly, that those who are busy with production from morning until evening would receive fodder first. And the board and party organization do not forget the pensioners who had given all their strength to the kolkhoz and now naturally need help. Certainly veterans of labor in their turn will not refuse to weed beets or to turn hay.

Such a mutual advantage is positively shown not only in the moral climate in the collective but it brings an appreciable economic effect. On one hand the number of needed working hands increases during the important season. Namely pensioners yield a large quantity of the pigs and cattle.

This year owners of subsidiary plots concluded an agreement with the kolkhoz. The following points in particular were agreed upon: to supply milk of essential purity and fat content, young animals of necessary weight. How will this obligation be fulfilled? Since the beginning of the year 60 head of cattle and 64 swine were purchased. It should be noted that the cattle, as a rule, is of high fat content and is conditioned.

Eduard Volynets, chief livestock specialist of the kolkhoz, summed up such cooperation:

"Those who breed cattle on private subsidiary plots are deserving of merit in that we successfully fulfilled the half-year plan for sale to the state of basic animal husbandry products."

An especially large amount of milk is delivered. On the territory of the kolkhoz there are three milk-receiving points (milk collection from the homes is also organized). At each one an average of 500-600 kilograms are brought into production daily. And in 6 months--74 tons of milk, more than for the same period of last year. This is an important reserve for the replenishment of the food stock.

In practice, milk cans are brought to the receiving point in the mornings from each household with rare exception. Field-crop cultivators V. Narkevich, I. Yanushkevich and driver G. Shukshto deliver up to 30 kilograms of milk daily. They all feel that

this is profitable. Besides monetary payment (and it is always appreciable in the family budget) and return of skim milk, they receive mixed feed at a rate of 200 grams per 1 kilogram of output.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Additional Measures for the Increase of Production of Agricultural Products on Private Subsidiary Plots of Citizens" speaks of the importance of widespread creation of such a social climate where the kolkhozniks felt that they brought about a large profit to the state by breeding cattle and poultry and by market-gardening. On the kolkhoz imeni Kostyushko they try to create such a climate. A person works well on the combine and on the farm; he has a desire to have a subsidiary plot--by all means. For the cultivation of a personal plot the kolkhoz provides horses or equipment, sells piglets and poultry to its members (lately, for example, 4,000 chicks and 142 piglets were purchased) and sends a van directly to the gate for a "ready" heifer. The help which is given to the kolkhozniks is varied. They are allotted cultivated meadows and pastures, their oat crops are centrally processed, the harvest is gathered and zootechnic service is provided for the animals. The output is always appreciable. This year the farm is planning to sell to the government 430 tons of meat and 1,100 tons of milk and firmly knows that respectively, more than one-third and one-fifth of these products are received from the private plots of the kolkhozniks. Such mutually-advantageous cooperation should be firmly established and developed.

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REGIONAL

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE — A NECESSITY FOR EDUCATED ESTONIANS

Tallinn MOLODEZH' ESTONII in Russian 10 Mar 81 p 2

[Article by Yaak Allmere: "I Shall Attempt to Prove... an Axiom"]

[Text] This year's first issue, the third issue overall, of the journal RUSSKIY YAZYK V ESTONSKOY SHKOLE has come out. More than 800 teachers specializing in Russian language are teaching at schools where Estonian is the language of instruction. Today, when pupils have begun studying an international language beginning in the second semester of the first grade, teachers of the lower grades are joining the readership. The editor's mail bag attests to the fact that this journal, which is intended for teachers, has evoked interest on the part of pupils as well, at least those who intend to link their future with Russian philology or who are planning to enter Soviet higher educational institutions to major in areas which are not offered in this republic.

This most recent issue, as those preceding it, devotes much attention to matters of methodology. Faculty members at Tartu State University and Tallinn Pedagogic Institute, as well as teacher-practical experts and methods specialists share their development in theory and practical know-how. In the "Krugozor" correspondence club Leningrad literary critic Dmitriy Murin presents the teachers with a survey of Soviet prose of the 1970's. The attention of many readers will unquestionably be drawn by the literary scenario based on the works of Pavel Kogan, Nikolay Mayorov and other young poets who were killed in action in the Great Patriotic War. Angelina Yegorova, a teacher at the Tallinn Pedagogic Institute, shares her impressions of Japan and the Japanese students to whom she taught Russian.

This issue also contains remarks by Yaak Allmere, a graduate student at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. He shares his thoughts on the study of languages. And although the author discusses primarily the study of Russian by Estonians, which is quite understandable, we feel that his comments on attitude toward languages and on the necessity of an intelligent effort to develop bilingualism in this republic will also be of interest to the readers of MOLODEZH'.

I have been living in Moscow for two years now. I read, speak, write and even think in Russian. I get along without the assistance of a dictionary, or in any case I glance at it fairly seldom, although I cannot claim a consummate mastery of the language. I attended a rural school. It was after the war, there was a shortage of teachers, and in addition, there was a frequent teacher turnover. Therefore it would be a gross exaggeration to say that I gained any substantial knowledge of Russian in elementary school. I gained greater knowledge of Russian at vocational school, but only relatively, in comparison with elementary school. And Russian was not even offered in the evening division of the polytechnic institute. Apparently they assumed that students should already possess a mastery of Russian.

The reason that I am sharing with the readers my thoughts about Russian language in school is that I personally experienced problems with my knowledge of Russian, which had to be corrected when I was already an adult.

Languages come easier when one is young, during one's school years, and even more so for preschoolers. Children acquire vocabulary like a game and easily utilize this vocabulary. All of us must give some thought to how we can maximally utilize this beneficial period.

Today many adults are enthusiastically studying languages, signing up for all kinds of courses, digging through dictionaries and textbooks, and trying out various clever methods of intensifying the process of language learning. Language learning is extremely important, but it is so difficult! The plant manager, foreman or engineer must squeeze out of an extremely tight time budget each and every hour of study. In addition this hour, approaching things from the standpoint of economics, costs a lot more than a schoolchild's hour. Judging from my own experience, if I had already mastered Russian and German, how much more precious time I would now have for doing the real work on my dissertation.

Perhaps the conclusion reached on the basis of my personal experience will seem axiomatic to the teacher. But has it become axiomatic, and for every schoolchild? Does he understand that today's conscientious work frees him from inefficient labor in the not too distant future? I am convinced that if this simple idea becomes fixed in his consciousness, the efficiency of the language teacher will be much greater....

With regard to the Russian language, I believe that mastery of Russian will proceed much better if the acquired knowledge constantly finds living, practical application, rather than accumulating like a dead weight. And in our conditions one does not have to go far to find practical application. Joint athletic competitions and recreational evening activities between schools at which Russian and Estonian are languages of instruction, correspondence with persons of the same age in the fraternal republics and socialist countries, military-patriotic work, communication with relatives of soldiers who died liberating Soviet Estonia.

Incidentally, one can also travel, and not only on tour buses.

When I was in England I saw French children arriving to spend their vacation there. They were placed with English families, and this was handled so naturally, as if old

friends had come to visit. English children in turn travel to France, where they also stay with families. It seems to me that a similar children exchange would also be extremely beneficial in this country. Our country is huge and diversified. And if Estonian children were to spend a month or two in the summer with a Moldavian, Russian, or Georgian family, they would greatly expand their horizons and acquire a great deal in the sense of internationalist indoctrination and, of course, in mastering a language of communication between nations. Unfortunately we do not have this tradition at the present time. But does this mean that we do not need it?

One thing is obvious: children, all our children should establish more contacts, not remain enclosed within their own narrow group, where only one language is recognized, but should boldly go out into the vast world, breaking down the language barrier at a time when it is still easy to surmount. We adults are constantly in this world; it has become natural to us. We travel on business to Moscow, spend our vacation in Sochi, and are visited by friends from Leningrad. Finally, every work force contains people of different nationalities, but that by no means hinders us from having common concerns. Our children will be living in an even more dynamic world, where contacts between nations at all levels will be a commonplace occurrence. Internationalization of societal affairs is a global process, into which all peoples are drawn, large and small. This is an objective course of development, which is foolish to resist, to put it plainly. So let us prepare our children from the very outset for real life, and not keep them within narrow national confines.

I believe that this constitutes food for thought not only for teachers but parents as well. The frank truth is that some parents have an incorrect view of the role of the Russian language, viewing it as a threat, that it will swallow up their native language. It is sometimes very difficult to root out this prejudiced view, and this attitude is passed on to their children. There would seem to be no point of argument here. No cultured, educated person today limits himself to knowledge of only one language. That is a sign of intellectual poverty. All great people, in all times, knew many languages. It is for good reason that they say that as many languages as you know, you are that many persons. But nevertheless, the false stereotype which claims the opposite is very powerful. It will not die out by itself; it must be combated. Such parents must be influenced and shown the groundlessness of their views.

In addition, I believe that all three languages -- one's native language, Russian, and a foreign language -- should comprise a unified system and give an integral philological culture to the secondary-school graduate. It would be wrong either to downgrade or to exaggerate the role of each of the elements of such a system. Each has its own sphere of influence.

On numerous occasions I have heard people state that Estonians speak Russian worse than people from the other union republics. I cited the following arguments in justification. First of all, Estonia is a relatively young Union republic within the USSR. Secondly, Estonian and Russian are quite dissimilar, being members of different language families. Thirdly, Estonians are not particularly sociable and in addition are shy about speaking a language of which they do not have a mastery, and therefore they make even more mistakes.

But excuses, after all, are nothing but excuses, and on the whole the comment about us is true. Greater attention must be devoted to the Russian language. Russian is becoming an increasingly more important part of the daily intercourse of every Estonian. Travel, athletics, and recreation are constantly taking the Estonian beyond the borders of our republic. Many of our plants and kolkhozes are in competition with related enterprises in other republics. I have on numerous occasions ridden on the same train with young Estonians who are enrolled in school in Moscow, studying areas of specialization which cannot be studied in our republic. The world of professions is growing rapidly, along with advances in science and technology, and therefore with time the need to train personnel in Moscow and other scientific centers in the USSR will become even more urgent.

Good knowledge of Russian will also enable one to read Russian fiction in the original. No matter how good a translation may be, it is not the original. A translation is only a copy, half an art; translators, please do not take offense.

I shall return to my main point, but with a different approach. The more educated a person is, the broader his horizons; the more he draws from the treasure house of the cultures of other peoples, the more finely he senses the beauty of his own native language and national culture.

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